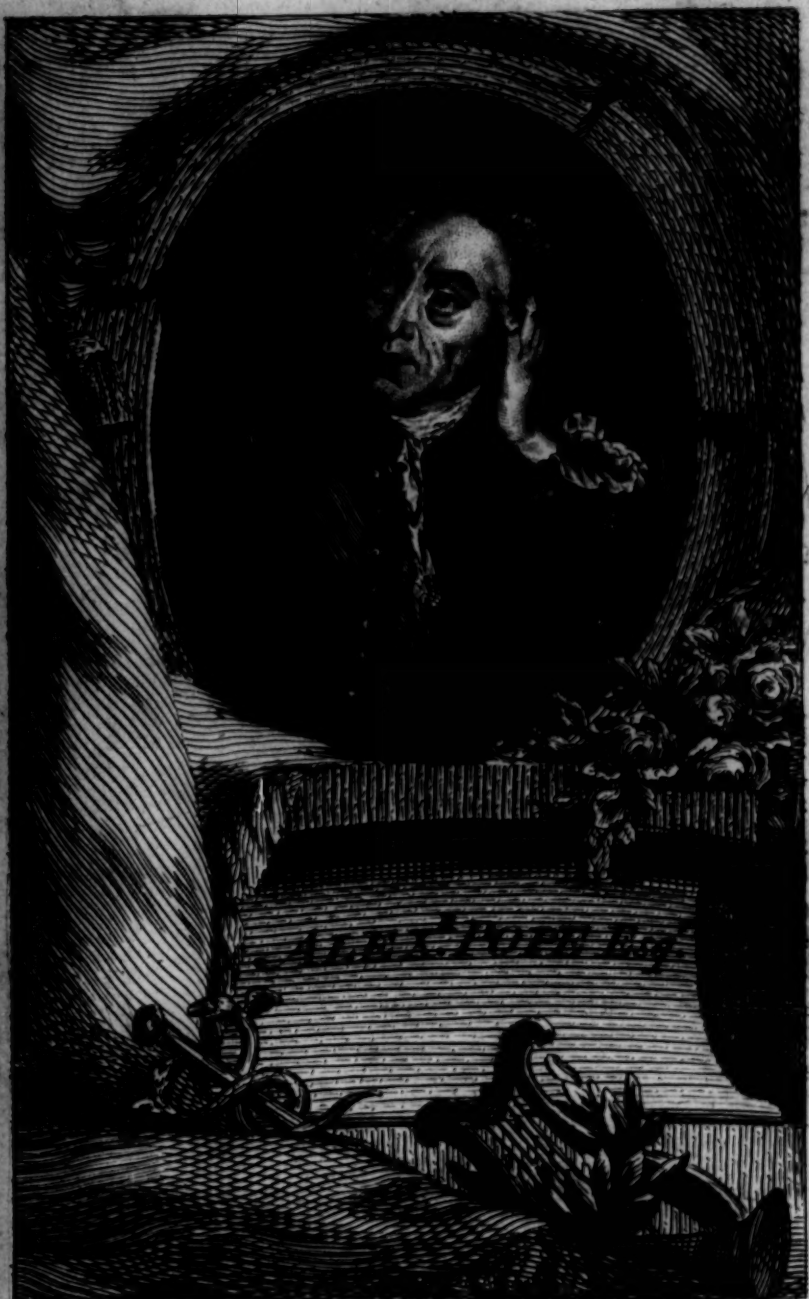


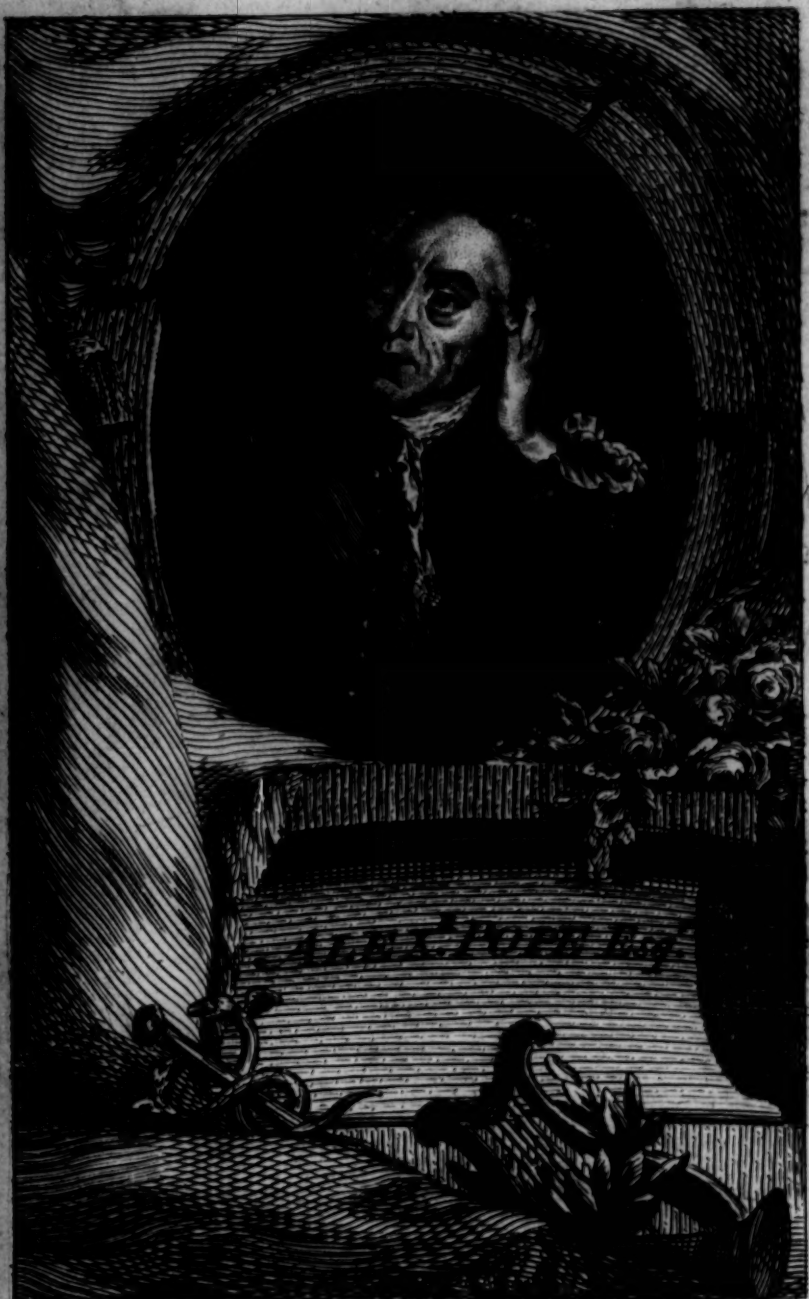
518



Vanloo pinx.

Milner sculp.

518



Panlloo pinx.

Müller sculp.

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THE
I L I A D
OF
H O M E R.

Translated by
ALEXANDER POPE, Esq;

Te sequor, O Graiæ gentis Decus! inque tuis nunc
Fixa pedum pono pressis vestigia signis:
Non ita certandi cupidus, quàm propter amorem,
Quòd te imitari aveo—— LUCRET.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

L O N D O N,

Printed by Charles Rivington,

For T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, JOHN RIVINGTON,
R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON, J. RICHARDSON, S. CROWDER,
P. DAVEY and B. LAW, T. LONGMAN, T. CASLON,
T. FIELD, T. POTE, H. WOODGATE and
S. BROOKS, S. BAKER, and T. PAYNE.

M.DCC.LX.

2

W. Musgrave.





P R E F A C E.

HOMER is universally allowed to have had the greatest *Invention* of any writer whatever. The praise of judgment *Virgil* has justly contested with him, and others may have their pretensions as to particular excellencies; but his *Invention* remains yet unrivaled. Nor is it a wonder if he has ever been acknowledged the greatest of poets, who most excelled in that which is the very foundation of poetry. It is the *Invention* that in different degrees distinguishes all great Geni-

uses : the utmost stretch of human study, learning, and industry, which masters every thing besides, can never attain to this. It furnishes Art with all her materials, and without it, Judgment itself can at best but *steal wisely* : for Art is only like a prudent steward that lives on managing the riches of Nature. Whatever praises may be given to works of judgment, there is not even a single beauty in them to which the Invention must not contribute : as in the most regular gardens, Art can only reduce the beauties of Nature to more regularity, and such a figure, which the common eye may better take in, and is therefore more entertained with. And perhaps the reason why common criticks are inclined to prefer a judicious and methodical genius to a great and fruitful one, is, because they find it easier for themselves to pursue their observations through an uniform and bounded walk of Art, than to comprehend the vast and various extent of Nature.

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Our author's work is a wild paradise, where if we cannot see all the beauties so distinctly as in an ordered Garden, it is only because the number of them is infinitely greater. It is like a copious nursery which contains the seeds and first productions of every kind, out of which those who followed him have but selected some particular plants, each according to his fancy, to cultivate and beautify. If some things are too luxuriant, it is owing to the richness of the soil; and if others are not arrived to perfection or maturity, it is only because they are over-run and oppressed by those of a stronger nature.

It is to the strength of this amazing invention we are to attribute that unequalled fire and rapture, which is so forcible in *Homer*, that no man of a true poetical spirit is master of himself while he reads him. What he writes, is of the most animated nature imaginable; every thing moves, every thing lives, and is put in action. If a council be called, or

a battle fought, you are not coldly informed of what was said or done as from a third person ; the reader is hurried out of himself by the force of the Poet's imagination, and turns in one place to a hearer, in another to a spectator. The course of his verses resembles that of the army he describes,

Οἱ δ' ἀρ' ἴσαν, ὥσεί τε πυρὶ χθονὶ πᾶσα νέμοισ'.

They pour along like a fire that sweeps the whole earth before it. It is however remarkable that his fancy, which is every where vigorous, is not discovered immediately at the beginning of his poem in its fullest splendor : it grows in the progress both upon himself and others, and becomes on fire like a chariot-wheel, by its own rapidity. Exact disposition, just thought, correct elocution, polished numbers, may have been found in a thousand ; but this political fire, this *Vivida vis animi*, in a very few. Even in works where all those are imperfect or neglected, this can over-power criticism, and

make us admire even while we disapprove. Nay, where this appears, though attended with absurdities, it brightens all the rubbish about it, till we see nothing but its own splendor. This *Fire* is discerned in *Virgil*, but discerned as through a glass, reflected from *Homer*, more shining than fierce, but every where equal and constant: in *Lucan* and *Statius*, it bursts out in sudden, short, and interrupted flashes: in *Milton* it glows like a furnace kept up to an uncommon ardor by the force of art: in *Shakespear*, it strikes before we are aware, like an accidental fire from heaven: but in *Homer*, and in him only, it burns every where clearly, and every where irresistibly.

I shall here endeavour to show, how this vast *Invention* exerts itself in a manner superior to that of any poet, through all the main constituent parts of his work, as it is the great and peculiar characteristic which distinguishes him from all other authors.

This strong and ruling faculty was like a powerful star, which in the violence of its course, drew all things within its *vortex*. It seemed not enough to have taken in the whole circle of arts, and the whole compass of nature to supply his maxims and reflections; all the inward passions and affections of mankind, to furnish his characters; and all the outward forms and images of things for his descriptions; but wanting yet an ampler sphere to expatiate in, he opened a new and boundless walk for his imagination, and created a world for himself in the invention of *Fable*. That which *Aristotle* calls the *Soul of poetry*, was first breathed into it by *Homer*. I shall begin with considering him in this part, as it is naturally the first, and I speak of it both as it means the design of a poem, and as it is taken for fiction.

Fable may be divided into the *probable*, the *allegorical*, and the *marvellous*. The *probable fable* is the recital of such actions

as though they did not happen, yet might, in the common course of nature: or of such as though they did, become fables by the additional episodes and manner of telling them. Of this sort is the main story of an Epic poem, *the return of Ulysses, the settlement of the Trojans in Italy*, or the like. That of the *Iliad* is the *anger of Achilles*, the most short and single subject that ever was chosen by any Poet. Yet this he has supplied with a vaster variety of incidents and events, and crowded with a greater number of councils, speeches, battles, and episodes of all kinds, than are to be found even in those poems whose schemes are of the utmost latitude and irregularity. The action is hurried on with the most vehement spirit, and its whole duration employs not so much as fifty days. *Virgil*, for want of so warm a genius, aided himself by taking in a more extensive subject, as well as a greater length of time, and contracting the design of both *Homer's* poems into

one, which is yet but a fourth part as large as his. The other Epic Poets have used the same practice, but generally carried it so far as to superinduce a multiplicity of fables, destroy the unity of action, and lose their readers in an unreasonable length of time. Nor is it only in the main design that they have been unable to add to his invention, but they have followed him in every episode and part of story. If he has given a regular *catalogue* of an *army*, they all draw up their forces in the same order. If he has funeral games for *Patroclus*, *Virgil* has the same for *Anchises*, and *Statius* (rather than omit them) destroys the unity of his action for those of *Archemoras*. If *Ulysses* visit the shades, the *Æneas* of *Virgil* and *Scipio* of *Silius* are sent after him. If he be detained from his return by the allurements of *Calypso*, so is *Æneas* by *Dido*, and *Rinaldo* by *Armida*. If *Achilles* be absent from the army on the score of a quarrel through half the poem,

Rinaldo must absent himself just as long, on the like account. If he gives his hero a suit of celestial armour, *Virgil* and *Tasso* make the same present to theirs. *Virgil* has not only observed this close imitation of *Homer*, but where he had not led the way, supplied the want from other *Greek* authors. Thus the story of *Simon* and the taking of *Troy* was copied (says *Macrobius*) almost word for word from *Pisander*, as the loves of *Dido* and *Aeneas* are taken from those of *Medea* and *Jason* in *Apollinus*, and several others in the same manner.

To proceed to the *allegorical fable*: if we reflect upon those innumerable knowledges, those secrets of nature and physical philosophy, which *Homer* is generally supposed to have wrapped up in his *allegories*, what a new and ample scene of wonder may this consideration afford us? How fertile will that imagination appear, which was able to clothe all the properties of elements, the qualifications

of the mind, the virtues and vices, in forms and persons; and to introduce them into actions agreeable to the nature of the things they shadowed? This is a field in which no succeeding poets could dispute with *Homer*; and whatever commendations have been allowed them on this head, are by no means for their invention in having enlarged his circle, but for their judgment in having contracted it. For when the mode of learning changed in following ages, and science was delivered in a plainer manner; it then became as reasonable in the more modern poets to lay it aside, as it was in *Homer* to make use of it. And perhaps it was no unhappy circumstance for *Virgil*, that there was not in his time that demand upon him of so great an invention, as might be capable of furnishing all those allegorical parts of a poem.

The *marvellous fable* includes whatever is supernatural, and especially the machines of the Gods. He seems the

first who brought them into a system of machinery for poetry, and such a one as makes its greatest importance and dignity. For we find those authors who have been offended at the literal notion of the Gods, constantly laying their accusation against *Homer* as the chief support of it. But whatever cause there might be to blame his *machines* in a philosophical or religious view, they are so perfect in the poetic, that mankind have been ever since contented to follow them: none have been able to enlarge the sphere of poetry beyond the limits he has set: every attempt of this nature has proved unsuccessful; and after all the various changes of times and religions, his Gods continue to this day the Gods of poetry.

We come now to the *characters* of his persons, and here we shall find no author has ever drawn so many, with so visible and surprizing a variety, or given us such lively and affecting impressions of them. Every one has something so singularly his

own, that no painter could have distinguished them more by their features, than the Poet has by their manners. Nothing can be more exact than the distinctions he has observed in the different degrees of virtues and vices. The single quality of *courage* is wonderfully diversified in the several characters of the *Iliad*. That of *Achilles* is furious and intractable; that of *Diomedes* forward, yet listening to advice and subject to command: that of *Ajax* is heavy, and self-confiding; of *Hector*, active and vigilant: the courage of *Agamemnon* is inspirited by love of empire and ambition, that of *Menelaus* mixed with softness and tenderness for his people: we find in *Idomeneus* a plain direct soldier, in *Sarpedon* a gallant and generous one. Nor is this judicious and astonishing diversity to be found only in the principal quality which constitutes the main of each character, but even in the underparts of it, to which he takes care to give a tincture of that principal one.

For example, the main characters of *Ulysses* and *Nestor* consist in *wisdom*; and they are distinct in this, that the wisdom of one is *artificial* and *various*, of the other *natural*, *open*, and *regular*. But they have, besides, characters of *courage*; and this quality also takes a different turn in each from the difference of his prudence: for one in the war depends still upon *caution*, the other upon *experience*. It would be endless to produce instances of these kinds. The characters of *Virgil* are far from striking us in this open manner; they lie in a great degree hidden and undistinguished, and where they are marked most evidently, affect us not in proportion to those of *Homer*. His characters of valour are much alike; even that of *Turnus* seems no way peculiar but as it is in a superior degree; and we see nothing that differences the courage of *Mnestheus* from that of *Sergesthus*, *Cloanthus*, or the rest. In like manner it may be remarked of *Statius's* heroes, that

an air of impetuosity runs through them all; the same horrid and savage courage appears in his *Capaneus*, *Tydeus*, *Hippomedon*, &c. They have a parity of character, which makes them seem brothers of one family. I believe when the reader is led into this track of reflection, if he will pursue it through the *Epic* and *Tragic* writers, he will be convinced how infinitely superior in this point the invention of *Homer* was to that of all others.

The *speeches* are to be considered as they flow from the characters, being perfect or defective as they agree or disagree with the manners of those who utter them. As there is more variety of characters in the *Iliad*, so there is of speeches, than in any other poem. *Every thing in it has manners* (as *Aristotle* expresses it) that is, every thing is acted or spoken. It is hardly credible in a work of such length, how small a number of lines are employed in narration. In *Virgil* the dramatic part is less in proportion to the

narrative; and the speeches often consist of general reflections or thoughts, which might be equally just in any person's mouth upon the same occasion. As many of his persons have no apparent characters, so many of his speeches escape being applied and judged by the rule of propriety. We oftner think of the author himself when we read *Virgil*, than when we are engaged in *Homer*: all which are the effects of a colder invention, that interests us less in the action described: *Homer* makes us hearers, and *Virgil* leaves us readers.

If in the next place we take a view of the *sentiments*, the same presiding faculty is eminent in the sublimity and spirit of his thoughts. *Longinus* has given his opinion, that it was in this part *Homer* principally excelled. What were alone sufficient to prove the grandeur and excellence of his sentiments in general, is, that they have so remarkable a parity with those of the scripture: *Duport* in his

Gnomologia Homérica, has collected innumerable instances of this sort. And it is with justice an excellent modern writer allows, that if *Virgil* has not so many thoughts that are low and vulgar, he has not so many that are sublime and noble; and that the *Roman* author seldom rises into very astonishing sentiments where he is not fired by the *Iliad*.

If we observe his *descriptions*, *images*, and *similes*, we shall find the invention still predominant. To what else can we ascribe that vast comprehension of images of every sort, where we see each circumstance of art, and individual of nature summoned together, by the extent and fecundity of his imagination; to which all things, in their various views, presented themselves in an instant, and had their impressions taken off to perfection, at a heat? Nay, he not only gives us the full prospects of things, but several unexpected peculiarities and side-views, unobserved by any Painter but *Homer*. No-

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thing is so surprizing as the descriptions of his battles, which take up no less than half the *Iliad*, and are supplied with so vast a variety of incidents, that no one bears a likeness to another; such different kinds of deaths, that no two heroes are wounded in the same manner; and such a profusion of noble ideas, that every battle rises above the last in greatness, horror, and confusion. It is certain there is not near that number of Images and descriptions in any Epic Poet; though every one has assisted himself with a great quantity out of him: and it is evident of *Virgil* especially, that he has scarce any comparisons which are not drawn from his master.

If we descend from hence to the *expression*, we see the bright imagination of *Homer* shining out in the most enlivened forms of it. We acknowledge him the father of poetical diction, the first who taught that *language of the Gods* to men. His expression is like the colouring of

some great masters, which discovers itself to be laid on boldly, and executed with rapidity. It is indeed the strongest and most glowing imaginable, and touched with the greatest spirit. *Aristotle* had reason to say, He was the only poet who had found out *living words*; there are in him more daring figures and metaphors than in any good author whatever. An arrow is *impatient* to be on the wing, a *weapon* thirsts to drink the blood of an enemy, and the like. Yet his expression is never too big for the sense, but justly great in proportion to it. It is the sentiment that swells and fills out the diction, which rises with it, and forms itself about it: and in the same degree that a thought is warmer, an expression will be brighter; as that is more strong, this will become more perspicuous: like glass in the furnace, which grows to a greater magnitude and refines to a greater clearness, only as the breath within is more powerful, and the heat more intense.

To throw his language more out of prose, *Homer* seems to have affected the *compound-epithets*. This was a sort of composition peculiarly proper to poetry, not only as it heightened the *diction*, but as it assisted and filled the *numbers* with greater sound and pomp, and likewise conduced in some measure to thicken the *images*. On this last consideration I cannot but attribute these also to the fruitfulness of his invention, since (as he has managed them) they are a sort of supernumerary pictures of the persons or things to which they are joined. We see the motion of *Hector's* plumes in the epithet Κορυθαίολε, the landscape of mount *Neritus* in that of Εἰνοσίφυλλε, and so of others; which particular images could not have been insisted upon so long as to express them in a description (though but of a single line) without diverting the reader too much from the principal action or figure. As a Metaphor is a short simile, one of these Epithets is a short description.

Lastly, if we consider his *versification*, we shall be sensible what a share of praise is due to his invention in that. He was not satisfied with his language as he found it settled in any one part of *Greece*, but searched through its differing *dialects* with this particular view, to beautify and perfect his numbers: he considered these as they had a greater mixture of vowels or consonants, and accordingly employed them as the verse required either a greater smoothness or strength. What he most affected was the *Ionic*, which has a peculiar sweetness from its never using contractions, and from its custom of resolving the diphthongs into two syllables; so as to make the words open themselves with a more spreading and sonorous fluency. With this he mingled the *Attic* contractions, the broader *Doric*, and the feebler *Æolic*, which often rejects its aspirate, or takes off its accent; and compleated this variety by altering some letters with the li-

cence of poetry. Thus his measures, instead of being fetters to his sense, were always in readiness to run along with the warmth of his rapture, and even to give a farther representation of his notions, in the correspondence of their sounds to what they signified. Out of all these he has derived that harmony, which makes us confess he had not only the richest head, but the finest ear in the world. This is so great a truth, that whoever will but consult the tune of his verses, even without understanding them (with the same sort of diligence as we daily see practised in the case of *Italian Operas*) will find more sweetness, variety, and majesty of sound, than in any other language or poetry. The beauty of his numbers is allowed by the criticks to be copied but faintly by *Virgil* himself, though they are so just to ascribe it to the nature of the *Latin* tongue: indeed the *Greek* has some advantages both from the natural sound of its words, and the turn and ca-

dence of its *Verse*, which agree with the genius of no other language. *Virgil* was very sensible of this, and used the utmost diligence in working up a more intractable language to whatsoever graces it was capable of; and in particular never failed to bring the sound of his line to a beautiful agreement with its sense. If the *Grecian* poet has not been so frequently celebrated on this account as the *Roman*, the only reason is, that fewer criticks have understood one language than the other. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* has pointed out many of our author's beauties in this kind, in his treatise of the *Composition of Words*, and others will be taken notice of in the course of my Notes. It suffices at present to observe of his numbers, that they flow with so much ease, as to make one imagine *Homer* had no other care than to transcribe as fast as the *Muses* dictated: and at the same time with so much force and inspiring vigour, that they awaken and raise us like the

found of a trumpet. They roll along as a plentiful river, always in motion, and always full ; while we are born away by a tide of verse, the most rapid, and yet the most smooth imaginable.

Thus on whatever side we contemplate *Homer*, what principally strikes us is his *invention*. It is that which forms the character of each part of his work ; and accordingly we find it to have made his fable more *extensive* and *copious* than any other, his manners more *lively* and *strongly marked*, his speeches more *affecting* and *transported*, his sentiments more *warm* and *sublime*, his images and descriptions more *full* and *animated*, his expression more *raised* and *daring*, and his numbers more *rapid* and *various*. I hope, in what has been said of *Virgil*, with regard to any of these heads, I have no way derogated from his character. Nothing is more absurd or endless, than the common method of comparing eminent writers by an opposition of particular

passages in them, and forming a judgment from thence of their merit upon the whole. We ought to have a certain knowledge of the principal character and distinguishing excellence of each: it is in *that* we are to consider him, and in proportion to his degree in *that* we are to admire him. No author or man ever excelled all the world in more than one faculty, and as *Homer* has done this in *invention*, *Virgil* has in judgment. Not that we are to think *Homer* wanted judgment, because *Virgil* had it in a more eminent degree; or that *Virgil* wanted invention, because *Homer* possessed a larger share of it: each of these great authors had more of both than perhaps any man besides, and are only said to have less in comparison with one another. *Homer* was the greater genius, *Virgil* the better artist. In one we most admire the man, in the other the work. *Homer* hurries and transports us with a commanding impetuosity, *Virgil* leads

us with an attractive majesty : *Homer* scatters with a generous profusion, *Virgil* bestows with a careful magnificence : *Homer*, like the *Nile*, pours out his riches with a boundless overflow ; *Virgil*, like a river in its banks, with a gentle and constant stream. When we behold their battles, methinks the two Poets resemble the Heroes they celebrate : *Homer*, boundless and irresistible as *Achilles*, bears all before him, and shines more and more as the tumult increases ; *Virgil*, calmly daring like *Æneas*, appears undisturbed in the midst of the action ; disposes all about him, and conquers with tranquillity. And when we look upon their machines, *Homer* seems like his own *Jupiter* in his terrors, shaking *Olympus*, scattering the lightnings, and firing the Heavens ; *Virgil*, like the same power in his benevolence, counselling with the Gods, laying plans for empires, and regularly ordering his whole creation.

But after all, it is with great parts, as with great virtues, they naturally border on some imperfection; and it is often hard to distinguish exactly where the virtue ends, or the fault begins. As prudence may sometimes sink to suspicion, so may a great judgment decline to coldness; and as magnanimity may run up to profusion or extravagance, so may a great invention to redundancy or wildness. If we look upon *Homer* in this view, we shall perceive the chief *objections* against him to proceed from so noble a cause as the excess of this faculty.

Among these we may reckon some of his *marvellous fictions*, upon which so much criticism has been spent, as surpassing all the bounds of probability. Perhaps it may be with great and superiour souls, as with gigantick bodies, which exerting themselves with unusual strength, exceed what is commonly thought the due proportion of parts, to become miracles in the whole; and like the old

heroes of that make, commit something near extravagance, amidst a series of glorious and inimitable performances. Thus *Homer* has his *speaking horses*, and *Virgil* his *myrtles distilling blood*, where the latter has not so much as contrived the easy intervention of a Deity to save the probability.

It is owing to the same vast invention, that his *Similes* have been thought too exuberant and full of circumstances. The force of this faculty is seen in nothing more, than in its inability to confine itself to that single circumstance upon which the comparison is grounded: it runs out into embellishments of additional images, which however are so managed as not to overpower the main one. His similes are like pictures, where the principal figure has not only its proportion given agreeable to the original, but is also set off with occasional ornaments and prospects. The same will account for his manner of heaping a number of com-

parifons together in one breath, when his fancy fugged to him at once fo many various and correspondent images. The reader will eafily extend this obfervation to more objections of the fame kind.

If there are others which feem rather to charge him with a defect or narrownefs of genius, than an excefs of it; thofe feeming defects will be found upon examination to proceed wholly from the nature of the times he lived in. Such are his *groffer representations* of the *Gods*, and the vicious and *imperfect manners* of his *Heroes*, which will be treated of in the following * *Effay*: but I muft here fpeak a word of the latter, as it is a point generally carried into extremes, both by the cenfurers and defenders of *Homer*. It muft be a ftrange partiality to antiquity, to think with Madam *Dacier*, “ that † thofe times and manners

* See the *Articles of Theology and Morality*, in the third part of the *Effay*.

† *Preface to her Homer*.

“ are so much the more excellent, as
“ they are more contrary to ours.” Who
can be so prejudiced in their favour as to
magnify the felicity of those ages, when
a spirit of revenge and cruelty, joined
with the practice of Rapine and Robbery,
reigned through the world; when no
mercy was shown but for the sake of
lucre, when the greatest Princes were
put to the sword, and their wives and
daughters made slaves and concubines?
On the other side, I would not be so de-
licate as those modern criticks, who are
shocked at the *servile offices* and mean
employments in which we sometimes see
the Heroes of *Homer* engaged. There
is a pleasure in taking a view of that sim-
plicity in opposition to the luxury of
succeeding ages, in beholding Monarchs
without their guards, Princes tending
their flocks, and Princesses drawing wa-
ter from the springs. When we read
Homer, we ought to reflect that we are
reading the most ancient author in the

heathen world; and those who consider him in this light, will double their pleasure in the perusal of him. Let them think they are growing acquainted with nations and people that are now no more; that they are stepping almost three thousand years back into the remotest Antiquity, and entertaining themselves with a clear and surprising vision of things no where else to be found, the only true mirror of that ancient world. By this means alone their greatest obstacles will vanish; and what usually creates their dislike, will become a satisfaction.

This consideration may farther serve to answer for the constant use of the same *epithets* to his Gods and Heroes, such as the *far-darting Phæbus*, the *blue-ey'd Pallas*, the *swift-footed Achilles*, &c. which some have censured as impertinent and tediously repeated. Those of the Gods depended upon the powers and offices then believed to belong to them, and had contracted a weight and venera-

tion from the rites and solemn devotions in which they were used: they were a sort of attributes with which it was a matter of religion to salute them on all occasions, and which it was an irreverence to omit. As for the epithets of great men, *Monf. Boileau* is of opinion, that they were in the nature of *Surnames*, and repeated as such; for the *Greeks* having no names derived from their fathers, were obliged to add some other distinction of each person; either naming his parents expressly, or his place of birth, profession, or the like: as *Alexander* the son of *Philip*, *Herodotus* of *Halicarnassus*, *Diogenes* the *Cynic*, &c. *Homer* therefore complying with the custom of his country, used such distinctive additions as better agreed with poetry. And indeed we have something parallel to these in modern times, such as the names of *Harold Harefoot*, *Edmund Ironside*, *Edward Long-shanks*, *Edward the black Prince*, &c. If yet this be thought to

account better for the propriety than for the repetition, I shall add a farther conjecture. *Hesiod* dividing the world into its different ages, has placed a fourth age between the brazen and the iron one, of *Heroes distinct from other men: a divine race, who fought at Thebes and Troy, are called Demi-Gods, and live by the care of Jupiter in the islands of the blessed* *. Now among the divine honours which were paid them, they might have this also in common with the Gods, not to be mentioned without the solemnity of an epithet, and such as might be acceptable to them by its celebrating their families, actions or qualities.

What other cavils have been raised against *Homer*, are such as hardly deserve a reply, but will yet be taken notice of as they occur in the course of the work. Many have been occasioned by an injudicious endeavour to exalt *Virgil*; which is much the same, as if one should think

* *Hesiod, lib. i. v. 155, &c.*

to raise the superstructure by undermining the foundation: one would imagine by the whole course of their parallels, that these Criticks never so much as heard of *Homer's* having written first; a consideration which whoever compares these two Poets, ought to have always in his eye. Some accuse him for the same things which they overlook or praise in the other; as when they prefer the fable and moral of the *Æneis* to those of the *Iliad*, for the same reasons which might set the *Odysses* above the *Æneis*: as that the Hero is a wiser man; and the action of the one more beneficial to his country than that of the other: or else they blame him for not doing what he never designed; as because *Achilles* is not as good and perfect a prince as *Æneas*, when the very moral of his poem required a contrary character: it is thus that *Rapin* judges in his comparison of *Homer* and *Virgil*. Others select those particular passages of *Homer*, which are

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not so laboured as some that *Virgil* drew out of them : this is the whole management of *Scaliger* in his *Poetices*. Others quarrel with what they take for low and mean expressions, sometimes through a false delicacy and refinement, oftner from an ignorance of the graces of the original ; and then triumph in the awkwardness of their own translations : this is the conduct of *Perault* in his *Parallels*. Lastly, there are others, who pretending to a fairer proceeding, distinguish between the personal merit of *Homer*, and that of his *work* ; but when they come to assign the causes of the great reputation of the *Iliad*, they found it upon the ignorance of his times, and the prejudice of those that followed : and in pursuance of this principle, they make those accidents (such as the contention of the cities, &c.) to be the causes of his fame, which were in reality the consequences of his merit. The same might as well be said of *Virgil*, or any great author, whose ge-

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neral character will infallibly raise many casual additions to their reputation. This is the method of *Monf. de la Motte*; who yet confesses upon the whole, that in whatever age *Homer* had lived, he must have been the greatest poet of his nation, and that he may be said in this sense to be the master even of those who surpassed him.

In all these objections we see nothing that contradicts his title to the honour of the chief *Invention*; and as long as this (which is indeed the characteristic of Poetry itself) remains unequalled by his followers, he still continues superior to them. A cooler judgment may commit fewer faults, and be more approved in the eyes of *one sort* of Criticks: but that warmth of fancy will carry the loudest and most universal applauses, which holds the heart of a reader under the strongest enchantment. *Homer* not only appears the Inventor of poetry, but excels all the inventors of other arts in this, that he has

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swallowed up the honour of those who succeeded him. What he has done admitted no increase, it only left room for contraction or regulation. He shewed all the stretch of fancy at once; and if he has failed in some of his flights, it was but because he attempted every thing. A work of this kind seems like a mighty Tree which rises from the most vigorous seed, is improved with industry, flourishes, and produces the finest fruit; nature and art conspire to raise it; pleasure and profit join to make it valuable: and they who find the justest faults, have only said, that a few branches (which run luxuriant through a richness of nature) might be lopped into form to give it a more regular appearance.

Having now spoken of the beauties and defects of the original, it remains to treat of the translation, with the same view to the chief characteristic. As far as *that* is seen in the main parts of the

Poem, such as the fable, manners, and sentiments, no translator can prejudice it but by wilful omissions or contractions. As it also breaks out in every particular image, description and simile; whoever lessens or too much softens those, takes off from this chief character. It is the first grand duty of an interpreter to give his author entire and unmaimed; and for the rest, the diction and versification only are his proper province; since these must be his own, but the others he is to take as he finds them.

It should then be considered what methods may afford some equivalent in our language for the graces of these in the *Greek*. It is certain no literal translation can be just to an excellent original in a superior language: but it is a great mistake to imagine (as many have done) that a rash paraphrase can make amends for this general defect; which is no less in danger to lose the spirit of an ancient, by deviating into the modern manners of

expression. If there be sometimes a darkness, there is often a light in antiquity, which nothing better preserves than a version almost literal. I know no liberties one ought to take, but those which are necessary for transfusing the spirit of the original, and supporting the poetical style of the translation: and I will venture to say, there have not been more men misled in former times by a servile dull adherence to the letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical insolent hope of raising and improving their author. It is not to be doubted that the *fire* of the poem is what a translator should principally regard, as it is most likely to expire in his managing: however, it is his safest way to be content with preserving this to his utmost in the whole, without endeavouring to be *more than he finds his author* is, in any particular place. It is a great secret in writing to know when to be plain, and when poetical and figurative; and it is what *Homer* will teach

us, if we will but follow modestly in his footsteps. Where his diction is bold and lofty, let us raise ours as high as we can; but where his is plain and humble, we ought not to be deterred from imitating him by the fear of incurring the censure of a mere *English* Critick. Nothing that belongs to *Homer* seems to have been more commonly mistaken than the just pitch of his style: some of his translators having swelled into fustian in a proud confidence of the *sublime*; others sunk into flatness in a cold and timorous notion of *simplicity*. Methinks I see these different followers of *Homer*, some sweating and straining after him by violent leaps and bounds (the certain signs of false mettle) others slowly and servilely creeping in his train, while the Poet himself is all the time proceeding with an unaffected and equal majesty before them. However, of the two extreams one could sooner pardon frenzy than frigidity: no author is to be envied for such commen-

dations as he may gain by that character of style, which his friends must agree together to call *simplicity*, and the rest of the world will call *dulness*. There is a graceful and dignified simplicity, as well as a bald and sordid one, which differ as much from each other as the air of a plain man from that of a sloven: it is one thing to be tricked up, and another not to be dressed at all. Simplicity is the mean between ostentation and rusticity.

This pure and noble simplicity is nowhere in such perfection as in the *Scripture* and our Author. One may affirm, with all respect to the inspired writings, that the *divine Spirit* made use of no other words but what were intelligible and common to men at that time, and in that part of the world; and as *Homer* is the author nearest to those, his style must of course bear a greater resemblance to the sacred books than that of any other writer. This consideration (together with what has been observed of the parity of

some of his thoughts) may methinks induce a translator on the one hand to give into several of those general phrases and manners of expression, which have attained a veneration even in our language from being used in the *Old Testament*; as on the other, to avoid those which have been appropriated to the Divinity, and in a manner consigned to mystery and religion.

For a farther preservation of this air of simplicity, a particular care should be taken to express with all plainness those *moral sentences* and *proverbial speeches* which are so numerous in this Poet. They have something venerable, and as I may say oracular, in that unadorned gravity and shortness with which they are delivered: a grace which would be utterly lost by endeavouring to give them what we call a more ingenious (that is, a more modern) turn in the paraphrase.

Perhaps the mixture of some *Græcisms* and old words after the manner of *Milton*,

if done without too much affectation, might not have an ill effect in a version of this particular work, which most of any other seems to require a venerable antique cast. But certainly the use of modern terms of war and government, such as *platoon, campaign, junto*, or the like (into which some of his translators have fallen) cannot be allowable; those only excepted, without which it is impossible to treat the subjects in any living language.

There are two peculiarities in *Homer's* diction which are a sort of *marks* or *moles*, by which every common eye distinguishes him at first sight: those who are not his greatest admirers look upon them as defects, and those who are, seem pleased with them as beauties. I speak of his *compound epithets*, and of his *repetitions*. Many of the former cannot be done literally into *English* without destroying the purity of our language. I believe such should be retained as slide easily of themselves into an *English* com-

pound, without violence to the ear or to the received rules of composition; as well as those which have received a sanction from the authority of our best Poets, and are become familiar through their use of them; such as the *cloud-compelling Jove*, &c. As for the rest, whenever any can be as fully and significantly expressed in a single word as in a compounded one, the course to be taken is obvious.

Some that cannot be so turned as to preserve their full image by one or two words, may have justice done them by circumlocution; as the epithet *εἰνοσίφυλλος* to a mountain, would appear little or ridiculous translated literally *leaf-shaking*, but affords a majestic idea in the *periphrasis*: *The lofty mountain shakes his waving woods*. Others that admit of differing significations, may receive an advantage by a judicious variation according to the occasions on which they are introduced. For example, the epithet of *Apollo*,

ἰσητόλος, or *far-shooting*, is capable of two explications; one literal in respect of the darts and bow, the ensigns of that God; the other allegorical with regard to the rays of the sun: therefore in such places where *Apollo* is represented as a God in person, I would use the former interpretation, and where the effects of the sun are described, I would make choice of the latter. Upon the whole, it will be necessary to avoid that perpetual repetition of the same epithets which we find in *Homer*, and which, though it might be accommodated (as has been already shewn) to the ear of those times, is by no means so to ours: but one may wait for opportunities of placing them, where they derive an additional beauty from the occasions on which they are employed; and in doing this properly, a translator may at once shew his fancy and his judgment.

As for *Homer's Repetitions*, we may divide them into three sorts; of whole narrations and speeches, of single sen-

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tences, and of one verse or hemistich. I hope it is not impossible to have such a regard to these, as neither to lose so known a mark of the author on the one hand, nor to offend the reader too much on the other. The repetition is not ungrateful in those speeches where the dignity of the speaker renders it a sort of insolence to alter his words; as in the messages from Gods to men, or from higher powers to inferiors in concerns of state, or where the ceremonial of religion seems to require it, in the solemn forms of prayers, oaths, or the like. In other cases, I believe the best rule is, to be guided by the nearness, or distance, at which the repetitions are placed in the original: when they follow too close, one may vary the expression, but it is a question whether a professed translator be authorized to omit any: if they be tedious, the author is to answer for it.

It only remains to speak of the *Verseification*. *Homer* (as has been said) is per-

petually applying the sound to the sense, and varying it on every new subject. This is indeed one of the most exquisite beauties of poetry, and attainable by very few: I know only of *Homer* eminent for it in the *Greek*, and *Virgil* in *Latin*. I am sensible it is what may sometimes happen by chance, when a writer is warm, and fully possessed of his image: however it may be reasonably believed they designed this, in whose verse it so manifestly appears in a superior degree to all others. Few readers have the ear to be judges of it; but those who have, will see I have endeavoured at this beauty.

Upon the whole, I must confess myself utterly incapable of doing justice to *Homer*. I attempt him in no other hope but that which one may entertain without much vanity, of giving a more tolerable copy of him than any entire translation in verse has yet done. We have only those of *Chapman*, *Hobbes*, and *Ogilby*. *Chapman* has taken the

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advantage of an immeasurable length of
 verse, notwithstanding which, there is
 scarce any paraphrase more loose and
 rambling than his. He has frequent in-
 terpolations of four or six lines, and I re-
 member one in the thirteenth book of the
Odysses, v. 312. where he has spun twen-
 ty verses out of two. He is often mis-
 taken in so bold a manner, that one
 might think he deviated on purpose, if
 he did not in other places of his notes in-
 sist so much upon verbal trifles. He ap-
 pears to have had a strong affectation of
 extracting new meanings out of his au-
 thor, insomuch as to promise, in his
 rhyming preface, a poem of the mysteries
 he had revealed in *Homer*: and perhaps
 he endeavoured to strain the obvious
 sense to this end. His expression is in-
 volved in fustian, a fault for which he
 was remarkable in his original writings,
 as in the tragedy of *Bussy d'Amboise*, &c.
 In a word, the nature of the man may
 account for his whole performance; for

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he appears from his preface and remarks to have been of an arrogant turn, and an enthusiast in poetry. His own boast of having finished half the *Iliad* in less than fifteen weeks, shews with what negligence his version was performed. But that which is to be allowed him, and which very much contributed to cover his defects, is a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, which is something like what one might imagine *Homer* himself would have writ before he arrived at years of discretion.

Hobbes has given us a correct explanation of the sense in general, but for particulars and circumstances he continually lops them, and often omits the most beautiful. As for its being esteemed a close translation, I doubt not many have been led into that error by the shortness of it, which proceeds not from his following the original line by line, but from the contractions abovementioned. He sometimes omits whole similes and sen-

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tences, and is now and then guilty of mistakes, into which no writer of his learning could have fallen, but through carelessness. His poetry, as well as *Ogilby's*, is too mean for criticism.

It is a great loss to the poetical world that Mr. *Dryden* did not live to translate the *Iliad*. He has left us only the first book, and a small part of the sixth; in which if he has in some places not truly interpreted the sense, or preserved the antiquities, it ought to be excused on account of the haste he was obliged to write in. He seems to have had too much regard to *Chapman*, whose words he sometimes copies, and has unhappily followed him in passages, where he wanders from the original. However, had he translated the whole work, I would no more have attempted *Homer* after him than *Virgil*, his version of whom (notwithstanding some human errors) is the most noble and spirited translation I know in any language. But the fate of great

geniuses is like that of great ministers, though they are confessedly the first in the commonwealth of letters, they must be envied and calumniated only for being at the head of it.

That which in my opinion ought to be the endeavour of any one who translates *Homer*, is above all things to keep alive that spirit and fire which makes his chief character : in particular places, where the sense can bear any doubt, to follow the strongest and most poetical, as most agreeing with that character ; to copy him in all the variations of his style, and the different modulations of his numbers ; to preserve, in the more active or descriptive parts, a warmth and elevation ; in the more sedate or narrative, a plainness and solemnity ; in the speeches, a fulness and perspicuity ; in the sentences, a shortness and gravity : not to neglect even the little figures and turns on the words, nor sometimes the very cast of the periods ; neither to omit nor confound

any rites or customs of antiquity : perhaps too he ought to include the whole in a shorter compass, than has hitherto been done by any translator, who has tolerably preserved either the sense or poetry. What I would farther recommend to him, is to study his author rather from his own text, than from any commentaries, how learned soever, or whatever figure they may make in the estimation of the world ; to consider him attentively in comparison with *Virgil* above all the ancients, and with *Milton* above all the moderns. Next these, the Archbishop of *Cambray's Telemachus* may give him the truest idea of the spirit and turn of our author, and *Bossu's* admirable treatise of the Epic poem the justest notion of his design and conduct. But after all, with whatever judgment and study a man may proceed, or with whatever happiness he may perform such a work, he must hope to please but a few ; those only who have at once a taste of poetry, and

competent learning. For to satisfy such as want either, is not in the nature of this undertaking; since a mere modern wit can like nothing that is not *modern*, and a pedant nothing that is not *Greek*.

What I have done is submitted to the publick, from whose opinions I am prepared to learn; though I fear no judges so little as our best poets, who are most sensible of the weight of this task. As for the worst, whatever they shall please to say, they may give me some concern as they are unhappy men, but none as they are malignant writers. I was guided in this translation by judgments very different from theirs, and by persons for whom they can have no kindness, if an old observation be true, that the strongest antipathy in the world is that of fools to men of wit. Mr. *Addison* was the first whose advice determined me to undertake this task, who was pleased to write to me upon that occasion in such terms, as I cannot repeat without vanity. I was

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obliged to Sir *Richard Steele* for a very early recommendation of my undertaking to the publick. Dr. *Swift* promoted my interest with that warmth with which he always serves his friend. The humanity and frankness of Sir *Samuel Garth* are what I never knew wanting on any occasion. I must also acknowledge, with infinite pleasure, the many friendly offices, as well as sincere criticisms of Mr. *Congreve*, who had led me the way in translating some parts of *Homer*. I must add the names of Mr. *Rowe* and Dr. *Parnell*, though I shall take a farther opportunity of doing justice to the last, whose goodness (to give it a great panegyrick) is no less extensive than his learning. The favour of these gentlemen is not entirely undeserved by one who bears them so true an affection. But what can I say of the honour so many of the *Great* have done me, while the *first names* of the age appear as my subscribers, and the most distinguished patrons and ornaments of learn-

ing as my chief encouragers. Among these it is a particular pleasure to me to find, that my highest obligations are to such who have done most honour to the name of Poet: that his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham* was not displeased I should undertake the author to whom he has given (in his excellent *Essay*) so complete a Praise.

Read *Homer* once, and you can read no more;
For all Books else appear so mean, so poor,
Verse will seem Prose: but still persist to read,
And *Homer* will be all the Books you need.

That the Earl of *Hallifax* was one of the first to favour me, of whom it is hard to say whether the advancement of the polite arts is more owing to his generosity or his example. That such a Genius as my Lord *Bolingbroke*, not more distinguished in the great scenes of business, than in all the useful and entertaining parts of learning, has not refused to be the critick of these sheets, and the pa-

tron of their writer. And that the noble author of the Tragedy of *Heroic Love*, has continued his partiality to me, from my writing Pastorals, to my attempting the *Iliad*. I cannot deny myself the pride of confessing, that I have had the advantage not only of their advice for the conduct in general, but their correction of several particulars of this translation.

I could say a great deal of the pleasure of being distinguished by the Earl of *Carnarvon*, but it is almost absurd to particularize any one generous action in a person whose whole life is a continued series of them. Mr. *Stanhope*, the present Secretary of State, will pardon my desire of having it known that he was pleased to promote this affair. The particular zeal of Mr. *Harcourt* (the son of the late Lord Chancellor) gave me a proof how much I am honoured in a share of his friendship. I must attribute to the same motive that of several others

of my friends, to whom all acknowledgments are rendered unnecessary by the privileges of a familiar correspondence: and I am satisfied I can no way better oblige men of their turn, than by my silence.

In short, I have found more patrons than ever *Homer* wanted. He would have thought himself happy to have met the same favour at *Athens*, that has been shewn me by its learned Rival, the University of *Oxford*. And I can hardly envy him those pompous honours he received after death, when I reflect on the enjoyment of so many agreeable obligations, and easy friendships, which make the satisfaction of life. This distinction is the more to be acknowledged, as it is shewn to one whose pen has never gratified the prejudices of particular *parties*, or the vanities of particular *men*. Whatever the success may prove, I shall never repent of an undertaking in which I have experienced the candour and friendship

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of ſo many perſons of merit; and in which I hope to paſs ſome of thoſe years of youth that are generally loſt in a circle of follies, after a manner neither wholly unuſeful to others, nor diſagreeable to myſelf.



1-7-17 A.C. III

of 10 heavy batteries of 155 mm. and in
which I hope to make some of these years
of service that the country will in a cer-
tain of better, after a number of years
of service in the same position
and to my mind.

and to my mind, the country will in a cer-
tain of better, after a number of years
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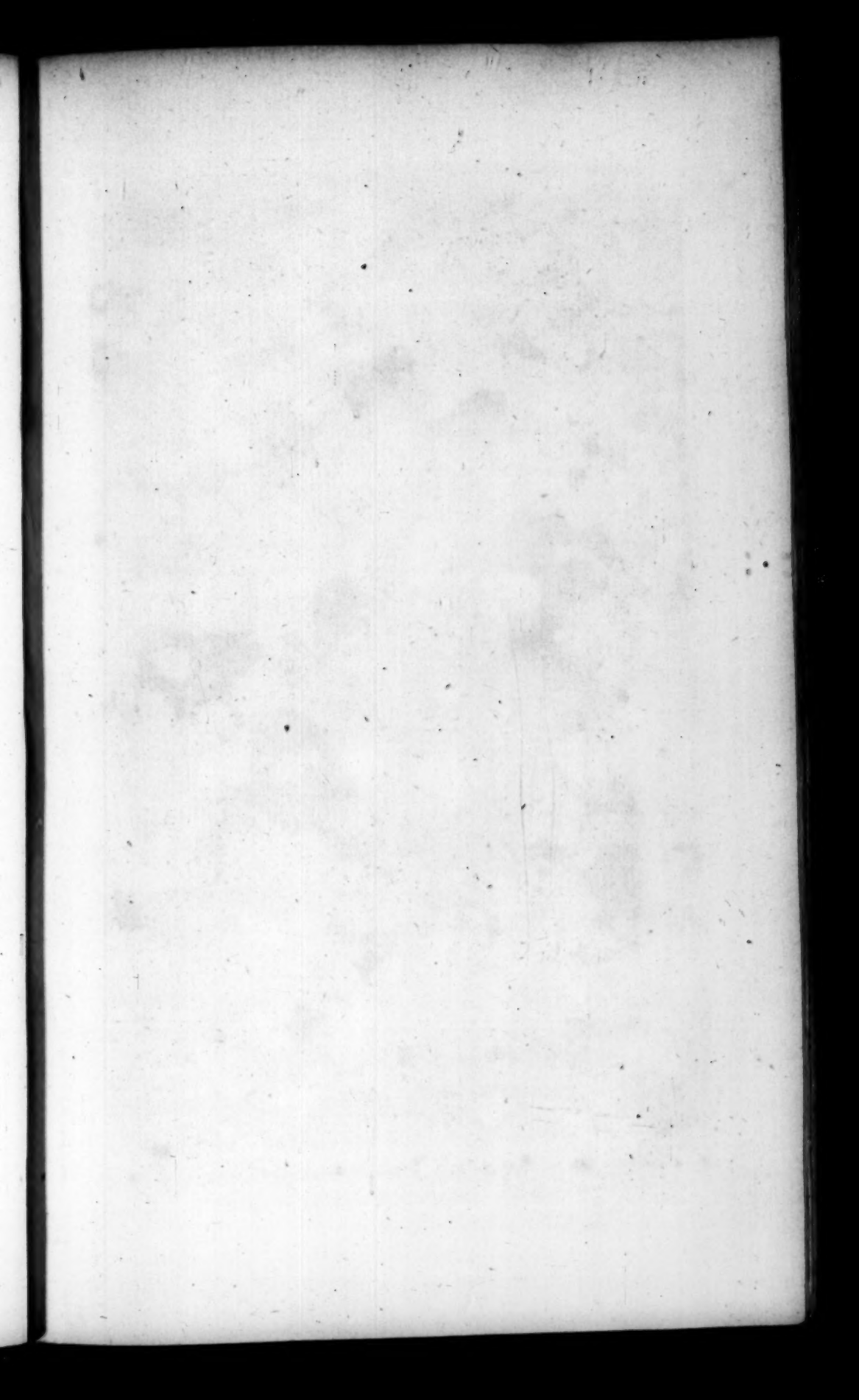
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tain of better, after a number of years
of service in the same position
and to my mind.





Ex marmore antiquo in Edibus Farnesianis Romae



AN
ESSAY
ON THE
LIFE, WRITINGS and LEARNING
OF
HOMER.

THERE is something in the mind of man, which goes beyond bare curiosity, and even carries us on to a shadow of friendship with those great geniuses whom we have known to excel in former ages. Nor will it appear less to any one, who considers how much it partakes of the nature of friendship; how it compounds itself of an admiration raised by what

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we meet with concerning them; a tendency to be farther acquainted with them, by gathering every circumstance of their lives; a kind of complacency in their company, when we retire to enjoy what they have left; an union with them in those sentiments they approve; and an endeavour to defend them, when we think they are injuriously attacked, or even sometimes with too partial an affection.

There is also in mankind a spirit of envy or opposition, which makes them uneasy to see others of the same species seated far above them in a sort of perfection. And this, at least so far as regards the fame of writers, has not always been known to die with a man, but to pursue his remains with idle traditions, and weak conjectures; so that his name, which is not to be forgotten, shall be preserved only to be stained and blotted. The controversy, which was carried on between the author and his enemies, while he was living, shall still be kept on foot; not entirely upon his own account, but on theirs who live after him; some being fond to praise extravagantly, and others as rashly eager to contradict his admirers. This proceeding, on both sides, gives us an image of the first descriptions of war, such as the *Iliad* affords; where a Hero disputes the field with an army 'till it is his time to die, and then the battle, which we expected to fall of course, is renewed about the body;

his friends contending that they may embalm and honour it, his enemies that they may cast it to the dogs and vultures.

There are yet others of a low kind of taste, who, without any malignity to the character of a great author, lessen the dignity of their subject by insisting too meanly upon little particularities. They imagine it the part of an historian to omit nothing they meet with, concerning him; and gather every thing without any distinction, to the prejudice or neglect of the more noble parts of his character: like those trifling painters, or sculptors, who bestow infinite pains and patience upon the most insignificant parts of a figure, 'till they sink the grandeur of the whole, by finishing every thing with the neatest want of judgment.

Besides these, there is a fourth sort of men, who pretend to divest themselves of partiality on both sides, and to get above that imperfect idea of their subject, which little writers fall into; who propose to themselves a calm search after truth, and a rational adherence to probability in their historical collections: who neither wish to be led into the fables of superstition, nor are willing to support the injustice of a malignant criticism; but, endeavouring to steer in a middle way, have obtained a character of failing least in the choice of materials for history, though drawn from the darkest ages.

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Being therefore to write something concerning a Life, which there is little prospect of our knowing, after it has been the fruitless enquiry of so many ages, and which has however been thus differently treated by historians, I shall endeavour to speak of it not as a certainty, but as the tradition, opinion, or collection of authors, who have been supposed to write of *Homer* in these four preceding methods; to which we also shall add some farther conjectures of our own. After his life has been thus rather invented than written, I shall consider him historically as an author, with regard to those works which he has left behind him: in doing which, we may trace the degrees of esteem they have obtained in different periods of time, and regulate our present opinion of them, by a view of that age in which they were writ.

I. I. If we take a view of *Homer* Stories of *Homer*, which are the effects of extravagant admiration. in those fabulous traditions which the admiration of the ancient heathens has occasioned, we find them running to superstition, and multiplied, and contradictory to one another, in the different accounts which are given with respect to *Ægypt* and *Greece*, the two native countries of fable.

We have one in ^a *Eustathius* most strangely framed, which *Alexander Paphius* has reported

^a *Eustathius in Od. 12.*

concerning *Homer's* birth and infancy. That
 " he was born in *Ægypt* of *Damafagoras* and
 " *Ætbra*, and brought up by a daughter of *Orus*,
 " the priest of *Isis*, who was herself a prophe-
 " tefs, and from whose breasts drops of honey
 " would frequently distil into the mouth of the
 " infant. In the night-time the first sounds he
 " uttered were the notes of nine several birds;
 " in the morning he was found playing with
 " nine doves in the bed: the *Sibyl*, who attend-
 " ed him, used to be seised with a poetical fury,
 " and utter verses, in which she commanded
 " *Damafagoras* to build a temple to the Muses:
 " this he performed in obedience to her inspira-
 " tion, and related all these things to the child
 " when he was grown up; who, in memory of
 " the doves which played with him during his
 " infancy, has in his works preferred this bird
 " to the honour of bringing *Ambrosia* to *Ju-*
 " *piter*."

One would think a story of this nature so fit
 for age to talk of, and infancy to hear, were in-
 capable of being handed down to us. But we
 find the tradition again taken up to be heighten-
 ed in one part, and carried forward in another.
^b *Heliodorus*, who had heard of this claim which
Ægypt put in for *Homer*, endeavours to strengthen
 it by naming *Thebes* for the particular place of
 his birth. He allows too, that a priest was his

^b *Heliod. Æthiop. l. 3.*

reputed father, but that his real father, according to the opinion of *Ægypt*, was *Mercury*: he says, “ That when the Priest was celebrating the
 “ rites of his country, and therefore slept with
 “ his wife in the Temple, the God had knowledge of her, and begot *Homer*: that he was
 “ born with tufts of hair on his thigh, as a
 “ sign of unlawful generation, from whence he
 “ was called *Homer* by the nations through which
 “ he wandered: that he himself was the occasion why this story of his divine extraction is
 “ unknown; because he neither told his name,
 “ race, nor country, being ashamed of his exile,
 “ to which his reputed father drove him from
 “ among the consecrated youths, on account of
 “ that mark, which their priests esteemed a testimony of an incestuous birth.”

These are the extravagant stories by which men, who have not been able to express how much they admire him, transcend the bounds of probability to say something extraordinary. The mind, that becomes dazzled with the sight of his performances, loses the common idea of a man in the fancied splendor of perfection: it deems nothing less than a God worthy to be his Father, nothing less than a Prophetess deserving to be his nurse; and, growing unwilling that he should be spoken of in a language beneath its imaginations, delivers fables in the place of history.

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But whatever has thus been offered to support the claim of *Ægypt*, they who plead for *Greece* are not to be accused for coming short of it. Their fancy rose with a refinement as much above that of their masters, as the *Greek* Imagination was superior to that of the *Ægyptians*: their Fiction was but a Veil, and frequently wrought fine enough to be seen through, so that it hardly hides the meaning it is made to cover, from the first glance of the imagination. For a proof of this, we may mention that poetical genealogy which is delivered for *Homer's*, in the ^d *Greek* treatise of the contention between him and *Hesiod*, and but little varied by the relation of it in *Suidas*.

“ The Poet *Linus* (say they) was born of *Apollo*, and *Thööse* the Daughter of *Neptune*.
 “ *Pierus* of *Linus*: *Oeagrus* of King *Pierus* and
 “ the Nymph *Metbone*: *Orpheus* of *Oeagrus* and
 “ the Muse *Calliope*. From *Orpheus* came *Othrys*;
 “ from him *Harmonides*; from him *Philoterpus*;
 “ from him *Euphemus*; from him *Epiphrades*,
 “ who begot *Menalops*, the father of *Dius*; *Dius*
 “ had *Hesiod* the Poet and *Perses* by *Pucamede*,
 “ the daughter of *Apollo*: then *Perses* had *Mæon*,
 “ on whose daughter *Crytheis*, the river *Meles*
 “ begot *Homer*.”

Here we behold a wonderful genealogy, contrived industriously to raise our idea to the highest,

^d Ἀγὼν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου.

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where Gods, Goddesſes, Muſes, Kings and Poets link in a deſcent ; nay, where Poets are made to depend, as it were, in cluſters upon the ſame ſtalk beneath one another. If we conſider too that *Harmonides* is derived from harmony, *Philoterpus* from love of delight, *Euphemus* from beautiful diſtion, *Epiphrades* from intelligence, and *Pucamede* from prudence ; it may not be improbable, but the inventors meant, by a fiction of this nature, to turn ſuch qualifications into perſons, as were agreeable to his character, for whom the line was drawn : ſo that every thing divine or great, will thus come together by the extravagant indulgence of fancy, while Admiration turns itſelf in ſome to bare Fable, in others to Allegory.

After this fabulous tree of his pedigree, we may regularly view him in one paſſage concerning his birth, which, though it differs in a circumſtance, from what has been here delivered, yet carries on the ſame air, and regards the ſame traditions. There is a ſhort life of *Homer* attributed to *Plutarch*, wherein a third part of *Ariſtote* on poetry, which is now loſt, is quoted for an account of his uncommon birth, in this manner. “ At the time when *Neleus*, the ſon of
“ *Codrus*, led the colony which was ſent into
“ *Ionia*, there was in the iſland of *Io* a young
“ girl, compreſſed by a *Genius*, who delighted
“ to aſſociate with the *Muſes*, and ſhare in their

“ conforfs. She, finding herfelf with child, and
 “ being touched with the fhame of what had
 “ happened to her, removed from thence to a
 “ place called *Ægina*. There ſhe was taken in
 “ an excuſion made by robbers, and being
 “ brought to *Smyrna*, which was then under the
 “ *Lydians*, they gave her to *Mæon* the King,
 “ who married her upon account of her beauty.
 “ But while ſhe walked on the bank of the ri-
 “ ver *Meles*, ſhe brought forth *Homer*, and ex-
 “ pired. The infant was taken by *Mæon*, and
 “ bred up as his ſon, till the death of that
 “ Prince.” And from this point of the ſtory the
 Poet is let down into his traditional poverty,
 Here we ſee, though he be taken out of the line-
 age of *Meles*, where we met him before, he has
 ſtill as wonderful a riſe invented for him; he is
 ſtill to ſpring from a *Demigod*, one who was of
 a poetical diſpoſition, from whom he might in-
 herit a ſoul turned to poetry, and receive an af-
 ſiſtance of heavenly inſpiration.

In his life the moſt general tradition concern-
 ing him is his *blindneſs*, yet there are ſome who
 will not allow even this to have happened after
 the manner in which it falls upon other men:
 chance and ſickneſs are excluded; nothing leſs
 than Gods and heroes muſt be viſibly concerned
 about him. Thus we find among the different
 accounts which * *Hermias* has collected concern-

* *Hermias in Phæd. Plat. Leo Allat. de Patr. Hom. c. 10.*

ing his blindness, that when *Homer* resolved to write of *Achilles*, he had an exceeding desire to fill his mind with a just idea of so glorious a hero: wherefore, having paid all due honours at his tomb, he intreats that he may obtain a sight of him. The hero grants his poet's petition, and rises in a glorious suit of armour, which cast so unsufferable a splendor, that *Homer* lost his eyes, while he gazed for the enlargement of his notions.

If this be any thing more than a mere fable, one would be apt to imagine it insinuated his contracting a blindness by too intense an application while he wrote his *Iliad*. But it is a very pompous way of letting us into the knowledge of so short a truth: it looks as if men imagined the lives of poets should be poetically written; that to speak plainly of them, were to speak contemptibly; or that we debase them, when they are placed in less glorious company than those exalted spirits which they themselves have been fond to celebrate. We may however in some measure be reconciled to this last idle fable, for having occasioned so beautiful an Episode in the *Ambra* of *Politian*. That which does not inform us in a history, may please us in its proper sphere of poetry.

II.
Stories of *Homer* proceeding
from envy,

II. Such stories as these have
been the effects of a superstitious
fondness, and of the astonishment

of men at what they consider in a view of perfection. But neither have all the same taste, nor do they equally submit to the superiority of others, nor bear that human nature, which they know to be imperfect, should be praised in an extreme, without opposition. From some principles of this kind have arisen a second sort of stories, which glance at *Homer* with malignant suppositions, and endeavour to throw a diminishing air over his life, as a kind of answer to those who sought to aggrandize him injudiciously.

Under this head we may reckon those ungrounded conjectures with which his adversaries asperse the very design and prosecution of his travels, when they insinuate, that they were one continued search after authors who had written before him, and particularly upon the same subject, in order to destroy them, or to rob them of their inventions.

Thus we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, “ That
“ there was one *Daphne* the daughter of *Tiresias*,
“ who from her inspirations obtained the title
“ of a *Sibyl*. She had a very extraordinary ge-
“ nius, and being made priestess at *Delphos*,
“ wrote oracles with wonderful elegance, which
“ *Homer* sought for, and adorned his poems
“ with several of her verses.” But she is placed
so far in the fabulous age of the world, that no-
thing can be averred of her: and as for the verses

^f Diod. Sic. l. 4.

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now ascribed to the *Sibyls*, they are more modern than to be able to confirm the story; which, as it is universally assented to, discovers that whatever there is in them in common with *Homer*, the compilers have rather taken from him; perhaps to strengthen the authority of their work by the protection of this tradition.

The next insinuation we hear is from *Suidas*, that *Palamedes*, who fought at *Troy*, was famous for poetry, and wrote concerning that war in the *Dorick* letter which he invented, probably much against *Agamemnon* and *Ulysses*, his mortal enemies. Upon this account some have fancied his works were suppressed by *Agamemnon's* posterity, or that their entire destruction was contrived and effected by *Homer* when he undertook the same subject. But surely the works of so considerable a man, when they had been able to bear up so long a time as that which passed between the siege of *Troy*, and the flourishing of *Homer*, must have been too much dispersed, for one of so mean a condition as he is represented, to have destroyed in every place, though he had been never so much assisted by the vigilant temper of envy. And we may say too, that what might have been capable of raising this principle in him, must be capable of being in some measure esteemed by others, and of having at least one line of it preserved to us as his.

After him, in the order of time, we meet with a whole set of names, to whom the maligners of *Homer* would have him obliged, without being able to prove their assertion. *Suidas* mentions *Corinnus Iliensis*, the secretary of *Palamedes*, who writ a poem upon the same subject, but no one is produced as having seen it. * *Tzetzes* mentions (and from *Jobannes Melala* only) *Sisyphus* the *Coan*, secretary of *Teucer*, but it is not so much as known if he writ verse or prose. Besides these, are *Dictys* the *Cretan*, secretary to *Idomeneus*, and *Dares* the *Phrygian*, an attendant of *Hector*, who have spurious treatises passing under their names. From each of these is *Homer* said to have borrowed his whole argument; so inconsistent are these stories with one another.

The next names we find, are *Demodocus*, whom *Homer* might have met at *Corcyra*; and *Phemius*, whom he might have met at *Ithaca*: the one (as ^a *Plutarch* says) having according to tradition written the war of *Troy*, the other the return of the *Grecian* captains. But these are only two names of friends, which he is pleased to honour with eternity in his poem, or two different pictures of himself, as author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or entirely the children of his imagination, without any particular allusion. So that his usage here puts me in mind of his own *Vulcan*

* *Tzetzes Cbil. 5. Hist. 29.*

^a *Plutarch on Musick.*

in the ¹ *Iliad*: the God had cast two statues, which he endued with the power of motion; and it is said presently after, that he is scarce able to go unless they support him.

It is reported by some, says * *Ptolemæus Ephæstio*, " That there was before *Homer* a woman " of *Memphis*, called *Phantasia*, who writ of the " wars of *Troy*, and the wandrings of *Ulysses*. " Now *Homer* arriving at *Memphis* where she " had laid up her works, and getting acquainted " with *Phanitas*, whose business it was to copy " the sacred writings, he obtained a sight of " these, and followed entirely the scheme she " had drawn." But this is a wild story, which speaks of an *Ægyptian* woman with a *Greek* name, and who never was heard of but upon this account. It appears indeed from his knowledge of the *Ægyptian* learning, that he was initiated into their mysteries, and for ought we know by one *Phanitas*. But if we consider what the name of the woman signifies, it seems only as if from being used in a figurative expression, it had been mistaken afterwards for a proper name. And then the meaning will be, that having gathered as much information concerning the *Grecian* and *Trojan* story, as he could be furnished with from the accounts of *Ægypt*, which were generally mixed with fancy and fable, he wrought out his plans of the *Iliad* and the *Odysses*,

¹ *Iliad*. xviii. * *Ptol*, *Ep*, *Excerpt*, *apud Photium*, l.

We pass all these stories, together with the *little Iliad* of *Siagrus*, mentioned by ¹ *Ælian*. But one cannot leave this subject without reflecting on the depreciating humour, and odd industry of man, which shews itself in raising such a number of insinuations that clash with each other, and in spiriting up such a croud of unwarranted names to support them. Nor can we but admire at the contradictory nature of this proceeding; that names of works, which either never were in being, or never worthy to live, should be produced only to persuade us that the most lasting and beautiful poem of the ancients was taken out of them. A beggar might be content to patch up a garment with such shreds as the world throws away, but it is never to be imagined an Emperor would make his robes of them.

After *Homer* had spent a considerable time in travel, we find him towards his age introduced to such an action as tends to his disparagement. It is not enough to accuse him for spoiling the dead, they raise a living author, by whom he must be baffled in that qualification on which his fame is founded.

There is in ^m *Hesiod* an account of an ancient poetical contention at the funeral of *Amphidamas*, in which, he says, he obtained the prize, but

¹ *Ælian*, l. 14. c. 21.
272, &c.

^m *Hesiod*. *Op. & dierum*, l. 2, v.

does not mention from whom he carried it. There is also among the ⁿ *Hymns* ascribed to *Homer*, a prayer to *Venus* for success in a poetical dispute, but it neither mentions where, nor against whom. But though they have neglected to name their antagonists, others have since taken care to fill up the stories by putting them together. The making two such considerable names in poetry engage, carries an amusing pomp in it, like making two heroes of the first rank enter the lists of combat. And if *Homer* and *Hesiod* had their parties among the *Grammarians*, here was an excellent opportunity for *Hesiod*'s favourers to make a sacrifice of *Homer*. Hence a bare conjecture might spread into a *tradition*, then the tradition give occasion to an *epigram*, which is yet extant, and again the *epigram* (for want of knowing the time it was writ in) be alledged as a *proof* of that conjecture from whence it sprung. After this a ^o whole treatise was written upon it, which appears not very ancient, because it mentions *Adrian*: the story agrees in the main with the short account we find in ^p *Plutarch*, “ That *Ganietor*, the son of “ *Amphidamus*, King of *Eubœa*, being used to “ celebrate his father’s funeral games, invited “ from all parts men famous for strength and “ wisdom. Among these *Homer* and *Hesiod* ar-

ⁿ Hom. *Hymn.* 2. *ad Venerem*,

^o Ἀγῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου,

^p *Plut.* *Banquet of the seven wise men.*

“ rived at *Chalcis*. The king *Panidas* presided
 “ over the contest, which being finished, he de-
 “ creed the *Tripod* to *Hesiod*, with this sentence,
 “ That the poet of peace and husbandry better
 “ deserved to be crowned, than the poet of war
 “ and contention. Whereupon *Hesiod* dedicated
 “ the prize to the muses, with this inscription,

“ Ἡσίοδος Μῆσαις Ἐλικωνίσι τὸν δ' ἀνέθηκεν,
 “ Ὕμνῳ νικήσας ἐν Καλκίδι θεῖον Ὅμηρον.

Which are two lines taken from that place in *Hesiod* where he mentions no antagonist, and altered, that the two names might be brought in, as is evident by comparing them with these,

“ Ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' αἰτῶντα,
 “ Τὸν μὲν Ἐγὼ Μῆσης Ἐλικωνιάδεσσι ἀνέθηκα.”

To answer this story, we may take notice that *Hesiod* is generally placed after *Homer*. *Grævius*, his own commentator, sets him a hundred years lower; and whether he were so or no, yet *Plutarch* has slightly passed the whole account as a fable. Nay, we may draw an argument against it from *Hesiod* himself: he had a love of Fame, which caused him to engage at the funeral games, and which went so far as to make him record his conquest in his own works; had he defeated *Homer*, the same principle would have

^a Plut. *Symp.* l. 5. §. 2.

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made him mention a name that could have secured his own to immortality. A Poet who records his glory, would not omit the noblest circumstance, and *Homer*, like a captive prince, had certainly graced the triumph of his adversary.

Towards the latter end of his life, there is another story invented, which makes him conclude it in a manner altogether beneath the greatness of a genius. We find, in the life said to be written by *Plutarch*, a tradition, "That he was warned by an oracle to beware of the *young mens riddle*." This remained long obscure to him, till he arrived at the island *Iös*. "There, as he sat to behold the fishermen, they proposed to him a riddle in verse, which he being unable to answer, died for grief." This story refutes itself, by carrying superstition at one end, and folly at the other. It seems conceived with an air of derision, to lay a great man in the dust after a foolish manner. The same sort of hand might have framed that tale of *Aristotle's* drowning himself because he could not account for the *Euripus*: the design is the same, the turn the same; and all the difference, that the great men are each to suffer in his character, the one by a *poetical riddle*, the other by a *philosophical problem*. But these are accidents which can only arise from the meanness of pride, or extravagance of madness: a soul enlarged with knowledge (so vastly as that of *Homer*) bet-

ter knows the proper stress which is to be laid upon every incident, and the proportion of concern, or carelessness, with which it ought to be affected. But it is the fate of narrow capacities to measure mankind by a false standard, and imagine the great, like themselves, capable of being disconcerted by little occasions; to frame their malignant fables according to this imagination, and to stand detected by it as by an evident mark of ignorance.

III. The third manner in which the life of *Homer* has been written is but an amassing of all the traditions and hints which the writers could meet with, great or little, in order to tell a story of him to the world. Perhaps the want of choice materials might put them upon the necessity; or perhaps an injudicious desire of saying all they could, occasioned the fault. However it be, a life composed of trivial circumstances, which (though it give a true account of several passages) shews a man but little in that light in which he was most famous, and has hardly any thing correspondent to the idea we entertain of him: such a life, I say, will never answer rightly the demand the world has upon an historian. Yet the most formal account we have of *Homer* is of this nature, I mean that which is said to be collected by He-

III.

Stories of *Homer* proceeding from trifling curiosity.

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rodotus. It is, in short, an unsupported minute treatise, composed of events which lie within the compass of probability, and belong to the lowest sphere of life. It seems to be entirely conducted by the spirit of a *Grammarian*; ever abounding with *extempore verses*, as if it were to prove a thing so unquestionable as our author's title to rapture; and at the same time the occasions are so poorly invented, that they misbecome the warmth of a poetical imagination. There is nothing in it above the life which a *Grammarian* might lead himself; nay, it is but such a one as they commonly do lead, the highest stage of which is to be *master of a school*. But because this is a treatise to which writers have had recourse for want of a better, I shall give the following abstract of it.

Homer was born at *Smyrna*, about one hundred sixty eight years after the siege of *Troy*, and six hundred twenty two years before the *expedition* of *Xerxes*. His mother's name was *Crytheis*, who proving unlawfully with child, was sent away from *Cumæ* by her uncle, with *Ismenias*, one of those who led the colony of *Smyrna*, then building. A while after, as she was celebrating a festival with other women on the banks of the river *Meles*, she was delivered of *Homer*, whom she therefore named *Melesigenes*. Upon this she left *Ismenias*, and supported herself by her labour, till *Phemius* (who taught a school in

Smyrna) fell in love with her, and married her. But both dying in process of time, the school fell to *Homer*, who managed it with such wisdom, that he was universally admired both by natives and strangers. Amongst these latter was *Mentes*, a master of a ship from *Leucadia*, by whose persuasions and promises he gave up his school, and went to travel: with him he visited *Spain* and *Italy*, but was left behind at *Ithaca* upon account of a defluxion in his eyes. During his stay he was entertained by one *Mentor*, a man of fortune, justice, and hospitality, and learned the principal incidents of *Ulysses's* life. But at the return of *Mentes*, he went from thence to *Colophon*, where, his defluxion renewing, he fell entirely blind. Upon this he could think of no better expedient than to go back to *Smyrna*, where perhaps he might be supported by those who knew him, and have the leisure to addict himself to poetry. But there he found his poverty increase, and his hopes of encouragement fail; so that he removed to *Cumæ*, and by the way was entertained for some time at the house of one *Tychius* a leather-dresser. At *Cumæ* his poems were wonderfully admired, but when he proposed to eternize their town if they would allow him a salary, he was answered, that there would be no end of maintaining all the "Ομῆροι, or blind men, and hence he got the name of *Homer*. From *Cumæ* he went to *Phocæa*, where

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one *Thestorides* (a school-master also) offered to maintain him if he would suffer him to transcribe his verses: this *Homer* complying with through mere necessity, the other had no sooner gotten them, but he removed to *Cbios*; there the poems gained him wealth and honour, while the author himself hardly earned his bread by repeating them. At last, some who came from *Cbios* having told the people that the same verses were published there by a school-master, *Homer* resolved to find him out. Having therefore landed near that place, he was received by one *Glaucus* a shepherd, (at whose door he had like to have been worried by dogs) and carried by him to his master at *Bollissus*, who admiring his knowledge, intrusted him with the education of his children. Here his praise began to spread, and *Thestorides*, who heard of his neighbourhood, fled before him. He removed however some time afterwards to *Cbios*, where he set up a school of poetry, gained a competent fortune, married a wife, and had two daughters, the one of which died young, the other was married to his patron at *Bollissus*. Here he inserted in his poems the names of those to whom he had been most obliged, as *Mentes*, *Phemius*, *Mentor*, and *Tychius*; and resolving for *Athens*, he made honourable mention of that city, to prepare the *Athenians* for a kind reception. But as he went, the ship put in at *Samos*, where he continued the

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whole winter, singing at the houses of great men, with a train of boys after him. In spring he went on board again in order to prosecute his journey to *Athens*, but landing by the way at *Ios*, he fell sick, died, and was buried on the seashore.

This is the life of *Homer* ascribed to *Herodotus*, though it is wonderful it should be so, since it evidently contradicts his own *history*, by placing *Homer* six hundred twenty-two years before the expedition of *Xerxes*; whereas *Herodotus* himself, who was alive at the time of that expedition, says; *Homer* was only * four hundred years before him. However, if we can imagine that there may be any thing of truth in the main parts of this treatise, we may gather these general observations from it: that he shewed a great thirst after knowledge, by undertaking such long and numerous travels: that he manifested an unexampled vigour of mind, by being able to write with more fire under the disadvantages of blindness, and the utmost poverty, than any poet after him in better circumstances; and that he had an unlimited sense of fame; (the attendant of noble spirits) which prompted him to engage in new travels, both under these disadvantages, and the additional burthen of old age.

But it will not perhaps be either improper or difficult to make some conjectures which seem to

* Herod. l. 2:

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lay open the foundation from whence the traditions which frame the low lives of *Homer* have risen. We may consider, that there are no historians of his time, (or none handed down to us) who have mentioned him ; and that he has never spoken plainly of himself, in those works which have been ascribed to him without controversy. However, an eager desire to know something concerning him has occasioned mankind to labour the point under these disadvantages, and turn on all hands to see if there were any thing left which might have the least appearance of information. Upon the search, they find no remains but his *name* and *works*, and resolve to torture these upon the rack of invention, in order to give some account of the person they belong to.

The first thing therefore they settle is, That what passed for his *name* must be his *name* no longer, but an *additional title* used instead of it. The reason why it was given, must be some accident of his life. They then proceed to consider every thing that the word may imply by its derivation. One finds that 'Ο μηρὸς signifies a *thigh* ; whence arises the tradition in ' *Heliodorus*, that he was banished *Ægypt* for the mark on that part, which shewed a spurious birth ; and this they imagine ground enough to give him the life of a wanderer. A second finds, that "Ομηρὸς signifies

an *hostage*, and then he must be delivered as such in a war (according to ^u *Proclus*) between *Smyrna* and *Chios*. A third can derive the name 'Ο μὴ ὄρων, *non videns*, from whence he must be a *blind man* (as in the piece ascribed to ^v *Herodotus*). A fourth brings it from 'Ομῶς ἐρεῖν, *speaking in council*; and then (as it is in *Suidas*) he must, by a divine inspiration, declare to the *Smyrnæans*, that they should war against *Colophon*. A fifth finds the word may be brought to signify *following others*, or *joining himself* to them, and then he must be called *Homer* for saying, (as it is quoted from ^x *Aristotle* in the life ascribed to *Plutarch*) that he would 'Ομηρεῖν, or *follow the Lydians* from *Smyrna*. Thus has the name been turned and winded, enough at least to give a suspicion, that he who got a *new etymology*, got either a *new life* of him, or something which he added to the old one.

However, the *name* itself not affording enough to furnish out a whole life, his *works* must be brought in for assistance, and it is taken for granted, That where he has not spoken of himself, he lies veiled beneath the persons or actions of those whom he describes. Because he calls a poet by the name of *Phemius* in his *Odysses*, they conclude this ^y *Phemius* was his master. Because he speaks of *Demodocus* as another poet who was

^u Procl. vit. Hom.
vit. Hom,

^v Herod. vit. Hom.
^y Herod. vit. Hom.

^x Plut.

blind, and frequented palaces; he must be sent about ^z blind, to sing at the doors of rich men. If *Ulysses* be fet upon by dogs at his shepherd's cottage, because this is a low adventure, it is thought to be his own at *Bolissus*. ^a And if he calls the leather-dresser, who made *Ajax's* shield, by the name of *Tychius*, he must have been supported by such an one in his wants: nay, some have been so violently carried into this way of conjecturing, that the bare ^b *simile* of a woman who works hard for her livelihood, is said to have been borrowed from his mother's condition, and brought as a proof of it. Thus he is still imagined to intend himself; and the fictions of poetry, converted into real facts, are delivered for his life, who has assigned them to others. All those stories in his works which suit with a mean condition are supposed to have happened to him; though the same way of inference might as well prove him to have acted in a higher sphere, from the many passages that shew his skill in government, and his knowledge of the great parts of life.

There are some other scattered stories of *Homer* which fall not under these heads, but are however of as trifling a nature; as much unfit for the materials of history, still more ungrounded, if possible, and arising merely from chance,

^z Herod. vit. Hom.
life of Homer.

^a Ibid.

^b Vid. M. Dacier's

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or the humours of men : such is the report we meet with from ^c *Heracledes*, that “ *Homer* was “ fined at *Athens* for a madman ;” which seems invented by the disciples of *Socrates*, to cast an odium upon the *Athenians* for their consenting to the death of their master, and carries in it something like a declaiming revenge of the schools, as if the world should imagine the one could be esteemed *mad*, where the other was put to death for being *wicked*. Such another report is that in ^d *Ælian*, “ That *Homer* portioned his “ daughter with some of his works for want of “ money ;” which looks but like a jest upon a poor wit, which at first might have had an Epigrammatist for its father, and been afterwards gravely understood by some painful collector. In short, mankind have laboured heartily about him to no purpose ; they have caught up every thing greedily, with that busy minute curiosity and unsatisfactory inquisitiveness which *Seneca* calls the *Disease of the Greeks* ; they have puzzled the cause by their attempts to find it out ; and, like travellers destitute of a road, yet resolved to make one over unpassable deserts, they superinduce error, instead of removing ignorance.

^c Diogenes Laertius ex *Heracled.* in *vita Socratis*.
an. l. 9. cap. 15.

^d *Ælian*.

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IV.
Probable con-
jectures con-
cerning *Homer*.

IV. Whenever any authors have attempted to write the life of *Homer*, clear from superstition, envy, and trifling, they have grown ashamed of all these traditions. This, however, has not occasioned them to desist from the undertaking; but still the difficulty which could not make them desist, has necessitated them, either to deliver the old story with excuses, or else, instead of a life, to compose a treatise partly of *criticism*, and partly of *character*; rather descriptive, than supported by action, and the air of history.

His *Time*.

They begin with acquainting us, that the *Time* in which he lived has never been fixed beyond dispute, and that the opinions of authors are various concerning it: but the controversy, in its several conjectures, includes a space of years between the earliest and latest, from twenty-four to about five hundred, after the siege of *Troy*. Whenever the time was, it seems not to have been near that siege, from his own *Invocation* of the *Muses* to recount the catalogue of the ships: "For we, says he, have only heard a rumour, and know nothing particularly." It is remarked by *Velleius Pa-*

* *Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρώποι οὐδὲ τι ἴδμεν. Iliad. ii. γ. 487.*

† Hic longè à temporibus belli quod composuit, Troici, quàm quidam rentur, abfuit. Nam fermè ante annos 950 floruit, intra mille natus est: quo nomine non est mirandum quòd sæpe illud usurpat, οἱ μὲν βροτοὶ εἴσι. Hòc enim ut hominum ita sæculorum notatur differentia, *Vell. Paterc. lib. 1.*

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terculus, That it must have been considerably later, from his own confession, that " mankind " was but half as strong in his age, as in that " he writ of ;" which, as it is founded upon a notion of a gradual degeneracy in our nature, discovers the interval to have been long between *Homer* and his subject. But not to trouble ourselves with entering into all the dry dispute, we may take notice, that the world is inclined to stand by the * *Arundelian marble*, as the most certain computation of those early times ; and this, by placing him at the time when *Diogenetus* ruled in *Athens*, makes him flourish a little before the *Olympiads* were established ; about three hundred years after the taking of *Troy*, and near a thousand before the *Christian Æra*. For a farther confirmation of this, we have some great names of antiquity who give him a cotemporary agreeing with the computation : ^b *Cicero* says, There was a tradition that *Homer* lived about the time of *Lycurgus*. ¹ *Strabo* tells us, It was reported that *Lycurgus* went to *Chios* for an interview with him. And even ^{*} *Plutarch*, when he says, *Lycurgus* received *Homer's* works from the grandson of that *Creophilus* with whom he had lived, does not put him so far backward, but that possibly they might have been alive at the same time.

* *Vide* Dacier, Du Pin, &c. concerning the *Arundelian marble*.

^b *Cicero Qu. Tuscul. l. 5.*

¹ *Strabo,*

l. 19,

* *Plut. vitâ Lycurgi.*

His Country.

The next dispute regards his country, concerning which ¹ *Adrian* enquired of the Gods, as a question not to be settled by men; and *Appion* (according to ^m *Pliny*) raised a spirit for his information. That which has increased the difficulty, is the number of contesting places, of which *Suidas* has reckoned up nineteen in one breath. But his ancient commentator, ⁿ *Didymus*, found the subject so fertile, as to employ a great part of his four thousand volumes upon it. There is a prophecy of the *Sibyls* that he should be born at *Salamis* in *Cyprus*; and then to play an argument of the same nature against it, there is the oracle given to *Adrian* afterwards, that says he was born in *Ithaca*. There are customs of *Æolia* and *Ægypt* cited from his works, to make out by turns and with the same probability, that he belonged to each of them. There was a school shewed for his at *Colophon*, and a tomb at *Iös*, both of equal strength to prove he had his birth in either. As for the *Athenians*, they challenged him as born where they had a colony; or else in behalf of *Greece* in general, and as the metropolis of its learning, they made his name free of their city (*qu. Liciniâ & Mutiâ lege*, says ^o *Politian*) after the manner of that law by which all *Italy* became free of *Rome*,

¹ Ἀγών Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡρόδοτου, of *Adrian's Oracle*, ^m *Plin.*
l. 30. cap. 2. ⁿ *Seneca Ep.* 88. concerning *Didymus*,
^o *Politian. Præf. in Homerum*,

All these have their authors to record their titles, but still the weight of the question seems to lie between *Smyrna* and *Chios*, which we must therefore take a little more notice of. That *Homer* was born at *Smyrna*, is endeavoured to be proved by an ^p *Epigram*, recorded to have been under the Statue of *Pisistratus* at *Athens*; by the reports mentioned in *Cicero*, *Strabo* and *A. Gellius*; and by the *Greek* lives, which pass under the names of *Herodotus*, *Plutarch* and *Proclus*; as also the two that are anonymous. The ^q *Smyrneans* built a temple to him, cast medals of him, and grew so possess'd of his having been theirs, that it is said they burned *Zoilus* for affronting them in the person of *Homer*. On the other hand, the *Chians* plead the ancient authorities of ^r *Simonides* and ^s *Theocritus* for his being born among them. They mention a race they had, called the *Homeridae*, whom they reckoned his posterity; they cast medals of him; they shew to this day an *Homerium*, or temple of *Homer*, near *Bolissus*; and close their arguments with a quotation from the *Hymn* to *Apollo* (which is acknowledged for *Ho-*

^p Epigram on *Pisistratus* in the anonymous life before *Homer*,

^q *Vitruvius* Proem. l. 7.

^r *Simonides* Frag. de brevitate vitæ, quoting a verse of *Homer*,

Ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χῖος ἔσπευ ἀνέσ.

^s *Theocritus* in *Dioscuris*, ad fin.

Χῖος ἀοιδός,

Ἰμῆσας Πράμιοι πόλιν κ' ἡμᾶς Ἀχαιοί,

Ῥαδάς τε μάχας.

mer's by ' *Thucydides*) where he calls himself, " The blind man that inhabits *Cbios*." The reader has here the sum of the large treatise of *Leo Allatius*, written particularly on the subject *, in which, after having separately weighed the pretensions of all, he concludes for *Cbios*. For my part, I determine nothing in a point of so much uncertainty ; neither which of these was honoured with his birth, nor whether any of them was, nor whether each may not have produced his own *Homer* ; since * *Xenophon* says, there were many of the name. But one cannot avoid being surprized at the prodigious veneration for his character, which could engage mankind with such eagerness in a point so little essential ; that Kings should send to oracles for the enquiry of his birth-place ; that cities should be in strife about it, that whole lives of learned men should be employed upon it ; that some should write treatises ; that others should call up spirits about it ; that thus, in short, heaven, earth and hell should be sought to, for the decision of a question which terminates in curiosity only.

His Parents.

If we endeavour to find the parents of *Homer*, the search is as fruitless. * *Ephorus* had made *Mæon* to be his father, by a niece whom he deflowered ; and this has so far obtained as to give him the derivative

* *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

* *Xenophon de Æquivocis,*

* *Leo Allatius de patriâ Homeri,*

* *Plut. vitâ Hom. ex Ephoro,*

name of *Mæonides*. His mother (if we allow the story of *Mæon*) is called *Crytheis*: but we are lost again in uncertainty, if we search farther; for *Suidas* has mentioned *Eumetis* or *Polycaste*; and ^γ *Pausanias*, *Chymene* or *Themisto*; which happens, because the contesting countries find out mothers of their own for him. Tradition has in this case afforded us no more light, than what may serve to shew its shadows in confusion; they strike the sight with so equal a probability, that we are in doubt which to chuse, and must pass the question undecided.

If we enquire concerning his own ^{His Name.} name, even that is doubted of. He has been called *Melesigenes* from the river where he was born. *Homer* has been reckoned an ascription name, from some accident in his life: the *Certamen Homericum* calls him once *Auletes*, perhaps from his musical genius; and ² *Lucian*, *Tigranes*; it may be from a confusion with that *Tigranes* or ² *Tigretes*, who was brother of Queen *Artemisia*, and whose name has been so far mingled with his, as to make him be esteemed author of some of the lesser works which are ascribed to *Homer*. It may not be amiss to close these criticisms with that agreeable derision wherewith *Lucian* treats the humour of Grammarians in their search after minute and impossible en-

^γ Pausanias, l. 10.

² Lucian's true history, l. 2.

^{*} Suidas de Tigrete.

quiries, when he feigns, that he had talked over the point with *Homer*, in the *Island of the Blessed*.

“ I asked him, says he, of what country he was ?

“ A question hard to be resolved with us ; to

“ which he answered, He could not certainly

“ tell, because some had informed him, that he

“ was of *Cbios*, some of *Smyrna*, and others of

“ *Colophon* ; but he took himself for a *Babylonian*,

“ and said he was called *Tigranes*, while he lived

“ among his country-men ; and *Homer* while he

“ was a hostage among the *Grecians*.”

His *Blindness*.

At his birth he appears not to have been *blind*, whatever he might be afterwards. The * *Cbian* medal of him (which is of great antiquity, according to *Leo Allatius*) seats him with a volume open, and reading intently. But there is no need of proofs from antiquity for that which every line of his works will demonstrate. With what an exactness, agreeable to the natural appearance of things, do his cities stand, his mountains rise, his rivers wind, and his regions lie extended ? How beautifully are the views of all things drawn in their figures, and adorned with their paintings ? What address in action, what visible characters of the passions inspire his heroes ? It is not to be imagined, that a man could have been always blind, who thus inimitably copies nature, and gives every where the proper proportion, fi-

* The medal is exhibited at the beginning of this essay.

gure, colour and life: “ *Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat* (says ^b *Paterculus*) *omnibus sensibus orbis est*:” He must certainly have beheld the creation, considered it with a long attention, and enriched his fancy by the most sensible knowledge of those ideas which he makes the reader see while he but describes them.

As he grew forward in years, he was trained up to learning (if we credit ^c *Diodorus*) under one “ *Pronapides*, a man of excellent natural endowments, who taught the *Pelasgick* letter invented by *Linus*.”

When he was of riper years, for his farther accomplishment and the gratification of his thirst of knowledge, he spent a considerable part of his time in travelling. Upon which account, ^d *Proclus* has taken notice that he must have been rich: “ For long travels, says he, occasion high expences, and especially at those times when men could neither fail without imminent danger and inconveniences, nor had a regulated manner of commerce with one another.” This way of reasoning appears very probable; and if it does not prove him to have been rich, it shews him, at least, to have had patrons of a generous spirit; who observing the vastness of his capacity, believed themselves beneficent to mankind, while they

^b *Paterculus. l. 1. vitâ Hom.*

^c *Diod. Sic. l. 3.*

^d *Procl.*

supported one who seemed born for something extraordinary.

Ægypt being at that time the seat of learning, the greatest wits and geniuses of *Greece* used to travel thither. Among these * *Diodorus* reckons *Homer*, and to strengthen his opinion alledges that multitude of their notions which he has received into his poetry, and of their customs, to which he alludes in his fictions: such as his *Gods*, which are named from the first *Ægyptian Kings*; the number of the *Muses* taken from the *nine Minstrels* which attended *Osiris*; the *Feast* wherein they used to send their statues of the Deities into *Æthiopia*, and to return after twelve days; and the carrying their dead bodies over the lake to a pleasant place called *Acherusia* near *Memphis*, from whence arose the stories of *Charon*, *Styx*, and *Elysium*. These are notions which so abound in him, as to make † *Herodotus* say, He had introduced from thence the religion of *Greece*. And if others have believed he was an *Ægyptian*, from his knowledge of their rites and traditions, which were revealed but to few, and of the arts and customs which were practised among them in general: it may prove at least thus much, that he must have travelled there.

* Diod. Sic. l. 1.

† Ἡρόδοτος γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίαν τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι δακνῶ μιν πρεσβυτέρως γενέσθαι, καὶ ἃ πολλοὶ ἔτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιῆσαι; θεοφάνης Ἕλλησι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διδόντες, καὶ εἶδεν αὐτῶν (ἡμηνάδης. Herodot. l. 2.

As *Greece* was in all probability his native country, and had then began to make an effort in learning, we cannot doubt but he travelled there also, with a particular observation. He uses the different *dialects* which are spoken in its different parts, as one who had been conversant with them all. But the argument which appears most irrefragable, is to be taken from his *catalogue of ships*: he has there given us an exact *Geography of Greece*, where its cities, mountains, and plains, are particularly mentioned, where the courses of its rivers are traced out, where the countries are laid in order, their bounds assigned, and the uses of their soils specified. This the ancients, who compared it with the original, have allowed to be so true in all points, that it could never have been owing to a loose and casual information: even *Strabo's* account of *Greece* is but a kind of commentary upon *Homer's*.

We may carry this argument farther, to suppose his having been round *Asia Minor*, from his exact division of the *Regnum Priami vetus* (as *Horace* calls it) into its separate *Dynasties*, and the account he gives of the bordering nations in alliance with it. Perhaps too, in the wandrings of *Ulysses* about *Sicily*, whose ports and neighbouring islands are mentioned, he might contrive to send his Hero where he had made his own voyage before. Nor will the fables he has intermingled be any objection to his having travelled

in those parts, since they are not related as the history of the present time, but the tradition of the former. His mention of *Thrace*, his description of the beasts of *Lybia*, and of the climate in the *Fortunate Islands*, may seem also to give us a view of him in the extremes of the earth, where it was not barbarous or uninhabited. It is hard to set limits to the travels of a man, who has set none to that desire of knowledge which made him undertake them. Who can say what people he has not seen, who appears to be versed in the customs of all? He takes the globe for the scene on which he introduces his subjects; he launches forward intrepidly, like one to whom no place is new, and appears a citizen of the world in general.

When he returned from his travels, he seems to have applied himself to the finishing of his Poems, however he might have either designed, begun, or pursued them before. In these he treasured up his various acquisitions of knowledge, where they have been preserved through many ages, to be as well the proofs of his own industry, as the instructions of posterity. He could then describe his sacrifices after the *Æolian* manner; or ^c his leagues with a mixture of *Trojan* and *Spartan* ceremonies: ^b he could then compare the confusion of a multitude to that tumult he had observed in the *Icarian* sea, dashing

^c Iliad, iii.

^b Il. ii. §. 145.

and breaking among its croud of islands: he could represent the numbers of an army, by those flocks of ¹ swans he had seen on the banks of the *Cayster*; or being to describe that heat of battle with which *Achilles* drove the *Trojans* into the river, ² he could illustrate it with an allusion from *Cyrene* or *Cyprus*, where, when the inhabitants burned their fields, the grass-hoppers fled before the fire to perish in the Ocean. His fancy being fully replenished, might supply him with every proper occasional image; and his soul after having enlarged itself, and taken in an extensive variety of the creation, might be equal to the task of an *Iliad* and an *Odyssey*.

In his old age, he fell blind, and ^{His old age and Death.} settled at *Chios*, as he says in the *Hymn to Apollo*, (which, as is before observed, is acknowledged for his by *Thucydides*, and might occasion both *Simonides* and *Theocritus* to call him a *Chian*). ¹ *Strabo* relates, That *Lycurgus*, the great legislator of *Sparta* was reported to have a conference with *Homer*, after he had studied the laws of *Crete* and *Ægypt*, in order to form his constitutions. If this be true, how much a nobler representation does it give of him, and indeed more agreeable to what we conceive of this mighty genius, than those spurious accounts which keep him down among the meanest of mankind? What an idea could we frame to our-

¹ *Iliad*, ii. v. 461.

² *Il.* xxi. v. 12.

¹ *Strabo*, l. 10.

selves, of a conversation held between two persons so considerable; a philosopher conscious of the force of poetry, and a poet knowing in the depths of philosophy; both their souls improved with learning, both eminently raised above little designs or the meaner kind of interest, and meeting together to consult the good of mankind? But in this I have only indulged a thought which is not to be insisted upon; the evidence of history rather tends to prove that *Lycurgus* brought his works from *Asia* after his death: which ^m *Proclus* imagines to have happened at a great old age, on account of his vast extent of learning, for which a short life could never suffice.

His character
and manners.

If we would now make a conjecture concerning the genius and temper of this great man; perhaps his works, which would not furnish us with facts for his life, will be more reasonably made use of to give us a picture of his mind: to this end therefore, we may suffer the very name and notion of a book to vanish for a while, and look upon what is left us, as a conversation, in order to gain an acquaintance with *Homer*. Perhaps the general air of his works will become the general character of his genius; and the particular observations give some light to the particular turns of his temper. His comprehensive knowledge shews that his soul was not formed like a

^m Procl. vitâ Hom.

narrow channel for a single stream, but as an expanse which might receive an ocean into its bosom; that he had the strongest desire of improvement, and an unbounded curiosity, which made its advantage of every transient circumstance, or obvious accident. His solid and sententious manner may make us admire him for a man of judgment: one who, in the darkest ages, could enter far into a disquisition of human nature; who, notwithstanding all the changes which governments, manners, rites, and even the notions of Virtue, have undergone, and notwithstanding the improvements since made in Arts, could still abound with so many maxims correspondent to Truth, and notions applicable to so many Sciences. The fire, which is so observable in his Poem, may make us naturally conjecture him to have been of a warm temper, and lively behaviour; and the pleasurable air which every where overspreads it, may give us reason to think, that fire of imagination was tempered with sweetness and affability. If we farther observe the particulars he treats of, and imagine that he laid a stress upon the Sentiments he delivers, pursuant to his real opinions; we shall take him to be of a religious spirit, by his inculcating in almost every page the worship of the Gods. We shall imagine him to be a generous lover of his country, from his care to extol it every where; which is carried to such a height,

as to make ^a *Plutarch* observe, That though many of the *Barbarians* are made prisoners or suppliants, yet neither of these disgraceful accidents (which are common to all nations in war) ever happens to one *Greek* throughout his works. We shall take him to be a compassionate lover of mankind, from his numberless praises of hospitality and charity; (if indeed we are not to account for them, as the common writers of his life imagine, from his owing his support to these virtues). It might seem from his love of stories, with his manner of telling them sometimes, that he gave his own picture when he painted his *Nestor*, and, as wise as he was, was no enemy to talking. One would think from his praises of wine, his copious goblets, and pleasing descriptions of banquets, that he was addicted to a chearful, sociable life, which *Horace* takes notice of as a kind of tradition;

“ *Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus.*”

Ep. 19. l. 1.

And that he was not (as may be guessed of *Virgil* from his works) averse to the *female sex*, will appear from his care to paint them amiably upon all occasions: his *Andromache* and *Penelope* are in each of his Poems most shining characters of conjugal affection; even his *Helena* herself is

^a *Plutarch. de Aud. Poetis.*

drawn with all the softnings imaginable; his soldiers are exhorted to combat with the hopes of *women*; his commanders are furnished with *fair slaves* in their tents, nor is the venerable *Nestor* without a *mistress*.

It is true, that in this way of turning a *book* into a *man*, this reasoning from his works to himself, we can at best but hit off a few out-lines of a character: wherefore I shall carry it no farther, but conclude with one *discovery* which we may make from his *silence*; a discovery extremely proper to be made in this manner, which is, That he was of a very modest temper. There is in all other Poets a custom of speaking of themselves, and a vanity of promising eternity to their writings: in both which *Homer*, who has the best title to speak out, is altogether silent. As to the last of them, the world has made him ample recompence; it has given him that eternity he would not promise himself: but whatever endeavours have been offered in respect of the former, we find ourselves still under an irreparable loss. That which others have said of him has amounted to no more than conjecture; that which I have said is no farther to be insisted on: I have used the liberty which may be indulged me by precedent, to give my own opinions among the accounts of others, and the world may be pleased to receive them as so many willing endeavours to gratify its curiosity.

Catalogue of
his Works.

The only incontestable works which *Homer* has left behind him are the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey*; the *Batrachomyomachia* or *Battle of the frogs and mice*, has been diſputed, but is however allowed for his by many authors; amongſt whom ° *Statius* has reckoned it like the *Culex* of *Virgil*, a trial of force before his greater performances. It is indeed a beautiful piece of raillery, in which a great writer might delight to unbend himſelf; an inſtance of that agreeable trifling, which has been at ſome time or other indulged by the fineſt geniuses, and the offſpring of that amuſing and chearful humour, which generally accompanies the character of a rich imagination, like a vein of *Mercury* running mingled with a mine of *Gold*.

The *Hymns* have been doubted alſo, and attributed by the Scholiaſts to *Cynæthus* the *Rhapsodiſt*; but neither ° *Thucydides*, ° *Lucian*, nor ° *Pauſanias*, have ſcrupled to cite them as genuine. We have the authority of the two former for that to *Apollo*, though it be obſerved that the word *Νέμεος* is found in it, which the book *de Poëſi Homericâ* (aſcribed to *Plutarch*) tells us, was not in uſe in *Homer's* time. We have alſo an authority of the laſt for a ° *Hymn* to *Ceres*, of which he has given us a fragment. That to *Mars* is

° *Statius Præf. ad Sylv. l. 1.* ° *Thucyd. l. 3.* ° *Lucian, Phalarid. 2.* ° *Pauſan. Bæotic.* ° *Pauſ. Meſſen.*

objected against for mentioning *Τύραννος*, and that which is the first to *Minerva*, for using *Τυχῆ*, both of them being (according to the author of the treatise before mentioned) words of a later invention. The *Hymn to Venus* has many of its lines copied by *Virgil*, in the interview between *Æneas* and that Goddess in the first *Æneid*. But whether these Hymns are *Homer's*, or not, they are always judged to be near as ancient, if not of the same age with him.

The *Epigrams* are extracted out of the life, said to be written by *Herodotus*, and we leave them as such to stand or fall with it; except the Epitaph on *Midas*, which is very ancient, quoted without its author both by [†] *Plato* and ^ⁱ *Longinus*, and (according to ^ⁱ *Laertius*) ascribed by *Simónides* to *Cleobulus* the wise man; who living after *Homer*, answers better to the age of *Midas* the son of *Gordias*.

The *Margites*, which is lost, is said by ^ⁱ *Aristotle* to have been a Poem of a comick nature, wherein *Homer* made use of *iambick* verses as proper for raillery. It was a jest upon the fair sex, and had its name from one *Margites*, a weak man, who was the subject of it. The story is something loose, as may be seen by the account of it still preserved in ^⁷ *Eustathius's* Comment on the *Odyssy*.

[†] Plat. in Phæd.

^ⁱ Laertius in vita Cleobuli.

^⁷ Eustath. in Odyss. 10.

^ⁱ Longin. §. 36. Edit. Tollii.

^ⁱ Arist. Poet. cap. 4.

The *Cercopes* was a satirical work, which is also lost; we may however imagine it was levelled against the vices of men, if our conjecture be right that it was founded upon the ^a old fable of *Cercopes*, a nation who were turned into *monkies* for their frauds and impostures.

The *Destruction of Oechalia*, was a Poem of which (according to *Eustatbius*) *Hercules* was the Hero; and the subject, his ravaging that country; because *Eurytus* the King had denied him his daughter *Iole*.

The *Ilias Minor* was a piece which included both the taking of *Troy*, and the return of the *Grecians*: in this was the story of *Sinon*, which *Virgil* has made use of. ^a *Aristotle* has judged it not to belong to *Homer*.

The *Cypriacks*, if it was upon them that *Nævius* founded his *Ilias Cypria* (as ^b Mr. *Dacier* conjectures) were the *love adventures* of the ladies at the siege: these are rejected by ^c *Herodotus*, for saying that *Paris* brought *Helen* to *Troy* in three days; whereas *Homer* asserts they were long driven from place to place.

There are other things ascribed to him, such as the *Heptapection goat*, the *Arachnomachia*, &c. in the ludicrous manner; and the *Thebais*, *Epi-goni*, or second siege of *Thebes*, the *Phocais*, *Amazonia*, &c. in the serious: which, if they were

^a Ovid. *Metam.* l. 14. de *Cercop.*
cap. 24.

^b Dac. on *Arist. Poet.* cap. 24.

^c *Arist. Poet.*
Herod. l. 2.

his, are to be reputed a real loss to the learned world. Time, in some things, may have prevailed over *Homer* himself, and left only the names of these works, as memorials that such were in being; but while the *Iliad* and *Odysssey* remain, he seems like a leader, who, though in his attempt of universal Conquest he may have lost his advanced guards, or some few Stragglers in the rear, yet with his main body ever victorious, passes in triumph through all ages.

The remains we have at present, of those Monuments Antiquity had framed for him, are but few. It could not be thought that they who knew so little of the *life of Homer*, could have a right knowledge of his *person*: yet they had statues of him as of their Gods, whose forms they had never seen. “*Quinimò quæ non sunt, finguntur* (says ^a *Pliny*) *pariuntque desideria non traditi vultus, sicut in Homero evenit.*” But though the ancient portraits of him seem purely notional, yet they agree (as I think ^c *Fabretti* has observed) in representing him with a short curled beard, and distinct marks of age in his forehead. That which is prefixed to this book, is taken from an ancient marble bust, in the palace of *Farnese* at *Rome*.

Monuments,
Coins, Mar-
bles, remaining
of him.

In *Bolissus* near *Chios* there is a ruin, which was shewn for the house of *Homer*, which

^a *Pliny*, l. 35. c. 2.
Veteris Tabellæ Anaglyphæ, *Horn. Iliad.*

^c *Raph. Fabret. Explicatio*

^f *Leo Allatius* went on pilgrimage to visit, and (as he tells us) found nothing but a few stones crumbling away with age, over which he and his companions wept for satisfaction.

They erected Temples to *Homer* in *Smyrna*, as appears from ^g *Cicero*; one of these is supposed to be yet extant, and the same which they shew for the Temple of *Janus*. It agrees with ^h *Strabo*'s description, a square building of stone, near a river, thought to be the *Meles*, with two doors opposite to each other, North and South, and a large Niche within the east wall, where the image stood: but *M. Span* denies this to be the true *Homerium*.

Of the medals struck for him, there are some both of *Cbios* and *Smyrna* still in being, and exhibited at the beginning of this Essay. The most valuable with respect to the largeness of the head, is that of *Amastris*, which is carefully copied from an original belonging to the present Earl of *Pembroke*, and is the same which *Gronovius*, *Cuperus*, and *Dacier* have copies of, but very incorrectly performed.

But that which of all the remains has been of late the chief amusement of the learned, is the marble called his *Apotheosis*, the work of *Arche-laüs* of *Priene*, and now in the palace of *Colonna*.

^f *Leo Allat. de patria Hom. cap. 13.* ^g *Cicero pro Archia.* ^h *Strabo, l. 14.* Τὸ Ὁμήριον τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχον
τὴν Ὀμήρου κ' εἰκόνα, &c. *de Smyrna.*

We see there a Temple hung with its veil, where *Homer* is placed on a seat with a footstool to it, as he has described the seats of his Gods; supported on each side with figures representing the *Iliad* and the *Odysssey*, the one by a sword, the other by the ornaments of a ship, which denotes the voyages of *Ulysses*. On each side of his footstool are *mice*, in allusion to the *Batrachomyomachia*. Behind is *Time* waiting upon him, and a figure with turrets on his head, which signifies the *World*, crowning him with the Laurel. Before him is an altar, at which all the *Arts* are sacrificing to him as to their Deity. On one side of the altar stands a boy, representing *Mythology*; on the other a woman, representing *History*: after her is *Poetry* bringing the *sacred fire*; and in a long following train, *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, *Nature*, *Virtue*, *Memory*, *Rhetorick*, and *Wisdom*, all in their proper Attitudes.



S E C T. II.

HAVING now finished what was proposed concerning the history of *Homer's* life, I shall proceed to that of his works; and considering him no longer as a *Man*, but as an *Author*, prosecute the thread of his story in this his second life, through the different degrees of esteem which those writings have obtained in different periods of time.

It has been the fortune of several great geniuses not to be known while they lived, either for want of historians, the meanness of fortune, or the love of retirement, to which a poetical temper is peculiarly addicted. Yet after death their works give themselves a life in Fame, without the help of an historian; and, notwithstanding the meanness of their author, or his love of retreat, they go forth among mankind, the glories of that age which produced them, and the delight of those which follow it. This is a fate particularly

verified in *Homer*, than whom no considerable author is less known as to himself, or more highly valued as to his productions.

The earliest account of these is said by * *Plutarch* to be some time after his death, when *Lycurgus* sailed to *Asia*: "There he had the

The first publication of his Works by *Lycurgus*.

"first sight of *Homer's* works, which were probably preserved by the grand-children of *Creophilus*; and having observed that their pleasurable air of fiction did not hinder the poet's abounding in maxims of state, and rules of morality, he transcribed and carried with him that entire collection we have now among us:" for at that time (continues this author) "there was only an obscure rumour in *Greece* to the reputation of these Poems, and but a few scattered fragments handed about, till *Lycurgus* published them entire." Thus they were in danger of being lost as soon as they were produced, by the misfortune of the age, a want of taste for learning, or the manner in which they were left to posterity, when they fell into the hands of *Lycurgus*. He was a man of great learning, a law-giver to a people divided and untractable, and one who had a notion that poetry influenced and civilized the minds of men; which made him smooth the way to his constitution by the songs of *Thales* the *Cretan*, whom he engaged

* *Plut. vii. Lycurgi.*

to write upon obedience and concord. As he proposed to himself, that the constitution he would raise upon this their union, should be of a martial nature, these poems were of an extraordinary value to him; for they came with a full force into his scheme; the moral they inspired was unity; the air they breathed was martial; and their story had this particular engagement for the *Lacedæmonians*, that it shewed *Greece* in war, and *Asia* subdued under the conduct of one of their own Monarchs, who commanded all the *Grecian* Princes. Thus the Poet both pleased the law-giver, and the people; from whence he had a double influence when the laws were settled. For his Poem then became a Panegyrick on their constitution, as well as a Register of their glory; and confirmed them in the love of it by a gallant description of those qualities and actions for which it was adapted. This made ^b *Cleomenes* call him *The Poet of the Lacedæmonians*: and therefore when we remember that *Homer* owed the publication of his works to *Lycurgus*, we should grant too, that *Lycurgus* owed in some degree the enforcement of his laws to the works of *Homer*.

Their reception in *Greece*.

At their first appearance in *Greece*, they were not reduced into a regular body, but remained as they were brought over, in several separate pieces, called

^b Plutarchi. *Apophtheg.*

(according to ^c *Ælian*) from the subject on which they treated; as the *battle at the ships*, the *death of Dolon*, the *valour of Agamemnon*, the *Patroclea*, the *grot of Calypso*, the *slaughter of the Wooers*, and the like. Nor were these entitled *Books*, but *Rhapsodies*; from whence they who sung them had the title of *Rhapsodists*. It was in this manner they began to be dispersed, while their poetry, their history, the glory they ascribed to *Greece* in general, the particular description they gave of it, and the compliment they paid to every little state by an honourable mention, so influenced all, that they were transcribed and sung with general approbation. But what seems to have most recommended them was, that *Greece* which could not be great in its divided condition, looked upon the fable of them as a likely plan of future grandeur. They seem from thenceforward to have had an eye upon the conquest of *Asia*, as a proper undertaking, which by its importance might occasion union enough to give a diversion from civil wars, and by its prosecution bring in an acquisition of honour and empire. This is the meaning of ^d *Isocrates*,

^c *Ælian*. l. 13. cap. 14.

^d Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν μῆζω καθεῖν δεῖαν, ὅτι καλῶς τὰς πολυμήσας τῶς βαρβαρίαις ἐνέκωμιασε· καὶ διὰ τούτο βυλῆθῃται τῶς Περγόνους ἡμῶν ἔλλοιμοι αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην, ἐν τῇ τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἀθλοῖς, καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ τῶν νεωτέρων· ἵνα πολλὰκις ἀκούσῃς τῶν ἱπῶν, ἱμαθάνωμι τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰς ὑπάρχουσαν, καὶ ζητήσῃς τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμῶμεν. *Isocrat. Paneg.*

when he tells us, " That *Homer's* poetry was in
 " the greater esteem, because it gave exceeding
 " praise to those who fought against the *Barba-*
 " *rians*. Our ancestors (continues he) honour-
 " ed it with a place in education and musical
 " contests, that by often hearing it we should
 " have a notion of an original enmity between
 " us and those nations; and that admiring the
 " virtue of those who fought at *Troy*, we should
 " be induced to emulate their glory." And in-
 deed they never quitted this thought, till they
 had successfully carried their arms wherever *Ho-*
mer might thus excite them.

Digested into
 order at *Athens*.

But while his works were suf-
 fered to lie in a distracted manner,
 the chain of story was not always
 perceived, so that they lost much of their force
 and beauty by being read disorderly. Where-
 fore as *Lacedæmon* had the first honour of their
 publication by *Lycurgus*, that of their regulation
 fell to the share of *Athens* in the time of ^e *Solon*,
 who himself made a law for their recital. It
 was then that *Pisistratus*, the Tyrant of *Athens*,
 who was a man of great learning and eloquence,
 (as ^f *Cicero* has it) first put together the confused

^e Diog. Laert. vit. Sol. ^f Quis doctior iisdem illis
 temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia literis instructior quàm *Pis-*
istrati? Qui primus *Homeri* libros, confusos antea, sic dispo-
 suisse dicitur ut nunc habemus. Cic. de Orat. l. 3. Vide etiam
 Ael. l. 13. cap. 14. Liban. Panegy. in Jul. Anonymam *Homeri*
 vitam. Fusius verò in Commentatoribus Dyon. Thracis.

parts of *Homer*, according to that regularity in which they are now handed down to us. He divided them into the two different Works, entitled the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; he digested each according to the Author's design, to make their plans become evident; and distinguished each again into twenty-four books, to which were afterwards prefixed the twenty-four letters. There is a passage indeed in ^a *Plato*, which takes this Work from *Pisistratus*, by giving it to his son *Hipparchus*; with this addition, that he commanded them to be sung at the feast called *Panathenæa*. Perhaps it may be, as ^b *Leo Allatius* has imagined, because the son published the copy more correctly: this he offers, to reconcile so great a testimony as *Plato's* to the cloud of witnessess which are against him in it: but be that as it will, *Athens* still claims its proper honour of rescuing the father of learning from the injuries of time, of having restored *Homer* to himself, and given the world a view of him in his perfection. So that if his verses were before admired for their *use* and *beauty*, as the stars were, before they were considered scientifically as a system, they were now admired much more for their graceful harmony, and that sphere of order in which they appear to move. They became thenceforward more the pleasure of the

^a *Plato in Hipparcho.*
cap. 5.

^b *Leo Allatius de patria Hom.*

wits of *Greece*, more the subject of their studies, and the employment of their pens.

About the time that this new edition of *Homer* was published in *Athens*, there was one *Cynæthus*, a learned *Rhapsodist*, who (as the ¹ *Scholiast* of *Pindar* informs us) settled first at *Syracuse* in that employment; and if (as *Leo Allatius* believes) he had been before an assistant in the edition, he may be supposed to have first carried it abroad. But it was not long preserved correct among his followers; they committed mistakes in their transcriptions and repetitions, and had even the presumption to alter some lines, and interpolate others. Thus the works of *Homer* run the danger of being utterly defaced: which made it become the concern of Kings and Philosophers, that they should be restored to their primitive beauty.

In the front of these is *Alexander the Great*, for whom they will appear peculiarly calculated, if we consider that no books more enliven or flatter personal valour, which was great in him to what we call romantick: neither has any books more places applicable to his designs on *Asia*, or (as it happened) to his actions there. It was then no ill compliment in ^k *Aristotle* to purge the *Iliad*, upon his account, from those

ⁱ Schol. Pind. in *Nem. Od.* 2.
Alexandri.

^k Plut. in *vitâ*

errors and additions which had crept into it. And so far was *Alexander* himself from esteeming it a matter of small importance, that he afterwards¹ assisted in a strict review of it with *Anaxarchus* and *Callisthenes*; whether it was merely because he esteemed it a treasury of military virtue and knowledge; or that (according to a late ingenious conjecture) he had a farther aim in promoting the propagation of it, when he was ambitious to be esteemed a son of *Jupiter*; as a book which treating of the sons of the Gods, might make the intercourse between them and mortals become a familiar notion. The review being finished, he laid it up in a casket, which was found among the spoils of *Darius*, as what best deserved so inestimable a case; and from this circumstance it was named, *The Edition of the Casket*.

The place where the works of *Homer* were next found in the greatest regard, is *Ægypt*, under the reign of the *Ptolemies*. These Kings being descended from *Greece*, retained always a passion for their original country. The men, the books, the qualifications of it, were in esteem in their court; they preserved the language in their fa-

Editions in *Ægypt*.

¹ Φέρει γὰρ τίς διόρθωσις τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως ἢ ἐκ τῶ Νάρθηκος λεγόμενης τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ τῶ περὶ Καλλιस्थένου καὶ Ἀνάξαρχου ἐπιθεμένης, καὶ σημειωσαμένη ἐπιπλεονεκτήσας εἰς Νάρθηκα ὃν εὗρεν ἐν Περσικῇ γὰρ πλεονεκτήσας καλεσθενασμένον. Strabo, lib. 13.

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μενασμένον. Strabo, lib. 13.

mily; they encouraged a concourse of learned men; erected the greatest library in the world; and trained up their princes under *Græcian* Tutors; among whom the most considerable were appointed for revisers of *Homer*. The first of these was ^m *Zenodotus*, library-keeper to the first *Ptolemy*, and qualified for this undertaking by being both a Poet and a Grammarian: but neither his copy nor that which his disciple *Aristophanes* had made, satisfying *Aristarchus*, (whom *Ptolemy Philometor* had appointed over his son *Euergetes*) he set himself to another correction with all the wit and learning he was master of. He restored some verses to their former readings, rejected others which he marked with *obelisks* as spurious, and proceeded with such industrious accuracy, that, notwithstanding there were some who wrote against his performance, antiquity has generally acquiesced in it. Nay, so far have they carried their opinion in his favour, as to call a man an ⁿ *Aristarchus*, when they meant to say a candid, judicious Critick; in the same manner as they call the contrary a *Zoilus*, from that *Zoilus* who about this time wrote an envious criticism against *Homer*. And now we mention these two together, I fancy it will be no small pleasure to the benevolent part of mankind, to

^m Suidas.

ⁿ Arguet ambiguè dictum; mutando notabit;
Fiet *Aristarchus*———Horat. *Ars Poetica*.

see how their fortunes and characters stand in contrast to each other, for examples to future ages, at the head of the two contrary sorts of criticism, which proceed from good-nature or from ill-will. The one was honoured with the offices and countenance of the court; the other, ° when he applied to the same place for an encouragement amongst the men of learning, had his petition rejected with contempt. The one had his fame continued to posterity; the other is only remembered with infamy. If the one had antagonists, they were obliged to pay him the deference of a formal answer; the other was never answered but in general, with those opprobrious names of *Thracian slave* and *rhetorical dog*. The one is supposed to have his copy still remaining; while the other's remarks are perished, as things that men were ashamed to preserve, the just desert of whatever arises from the miserable principle of ill-will or envy.

It was not the ambition of *Ægypt* In Syria and other parts of Asia. only to have a correct edition of *Homer*. We find in the life of ^p the poet *Aratus*, that he having finished a copy of the *Odyssey*, was sent for by *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, and entertained by him while he finished one of the *Iliads*. We read too of others which were published with the names of countries;

° Vitruv. l. 7. in *Proæm*.
Suidas in *Arato*.

^p *Author vitæ Arati*, &

such as the ^a *Massaliotick* and *Sinopick*; as if the world were agreed to make his works in their survival undergo the same fate with himself; and that as different cities contended for his birth, so they might again contend for his true edition. But though these reviews were not confined to *Ægypt*, the greatest honour was theirs, in that universal approbation which the performance of *Aristarchus* received; and if it be not his edition which we have at present, we know not to whom to ascribe it.

In *India* and
Persia.

But the world was not contented barely to have settled an edition of his works. There were innumerable comments, in which they were opened like a treasury of learning; and translations, whereby other languages became enriched by an infusion of his spirit of poetry. ^r *Ælian* tells us, that even the *Indians* had them in their tongue, and the *Persian* kings sung them in theirs. ^s *Persius* mentions a version into *Latin* by *Labeo*; and in general the passages and imitations which are taken from him, are so numerous, that he may be said to have been translated by piece-meal into that, and all other languages: which affords us this remark, that there is hardly any thing in him, which has not been pitched upon by some author or other as a particular beauty.

^a Eustathius *initio Iliados*,
^s *Persius*, *Sat.* 1.

^r *Ælian*, l. 12. cap. 48.

It is almost incredible to what an height the idea of that veneration the ancients paid to *Homer* will arise, to one who reads particularly with this view, through all these periods. He was no sooner come from his obscurity, but *Greece* received him with delight and profit: there were then but few books to divide their attention, and none which had a better title to engross it all. They made some daily discoveries of his beauties, which were still promoted in their different channels by the favourite qualities of different nations. *Sparta* and *Macedon* considered him most in respect of his *warlike spirit*; *Athens* and *Ægypt* with regard to his *poetry* and *learning*; and all their endeavours united under the hands of the learned, to make him blaze forth into an universal character. His works, which from the beginning passed for excellent *poetry*, grew to be *history* and *geography*; they rose to be a *magazine* of *sciences*; were exalted into a *scheme* of *religion*; gave a sanction to whatever rites they mentioned, were quoted in all cases for the conduct of private life, and the decision of all questions of the law of nations; nay, learned by heart as the very book of belief and practice. From him the *Poets* drew their inspirations, the *Criticks* their rules, and the *Philosophers* a defence of their opinions. Every author was fond to use his name, and every pro-

The extent and height of their reputation in the Heathen world.

feſſion writ books upon him, till they ſwelled to libraries. The warriours formed themſelves by his Heroes, and the oracles delivered his verſes for answers. Nor was mankind ſatisfied to have ſeated his character at the top of human wiſdom, but being overborn with an imagination that he tranſcended their ſpecies, they admitted him to ſhare in thoſe honours they gave the Deities. They inſtituted games for him, dedicated ſtatues, erected temples, as at *Smyrna*, *Chios*, and *Alexandria*; and ¹ *Ælian* tells us, that when the *Argives* ſacrificed with their gueſts, they uſed to invoke the preſence of *Apollo* and *Homer* together.

The decline of
their character
in the begin-
ning of Chriſti-
anity.

Thus he was ſettled on a foot of adoration; and continued highly venerated in the *Roman* empire, when *Chriſtianity* began. Heathen-
iſm was then to be deſtroyed, and *Homer* appeared the father of it; whoſe fictions were at once the belief of the Pagan religion, and the objections of Chriſtianity againſt it. He became therefore very deeply involved in the queſtion; and not with that honour which hitherto attended him, but as a criminal who had drawn the world into folly. He was on one hand accuſed for having framed ² fables upon the works of *Mofes*; as the rebellion of the giants from the building of *Babel*, and the caſting

¹ *Ælian*, l. 9. cap. 15.
ad gentes.

² *Justin Martyr*, *Admonit.*

Ate or *Strife* out of heaven from the fall of *Lucifer*. He was exposed on the other hand for those which he is said to invent, as when * *Arnobius* cries out, " This is the man who wounded your *Venus*, imprisoned your *Mars*, who freed even your *Jupiter* by *Briareus*, and who finds authorities for all your vices," &c. Mankind was * derided for whatever he had hitherto made them believe; and † *Plato*, who expelled him his commonwealth, has, of all the Philosophers, found the best quarter from the fathers, for passing that sentence. His finest beauties began to take a new appearance of pernicious qualities; and because they might be considered as allurements to fancy, or supports to those errors with which they were mingled, they were to be depreciated while the contest of faith was in being. It was hence, that the reading them was discouraged, that we hear *Ruffinus* accusing *St. Jerome* for it, and that ‡ *St. Austin* rejects him as the grand master of fable; though indeed the *dulcissimè vanus* which he applies to *Homer*, looks but like a fondling manner of parting with them.

This strong attack against our author, as the great bulwark of Paganism, obliged the Philosophers who could have acquiesced as his admirers, to appear as his defenders; who because

* *Arnobius adversus gentes*, l. 7. * *Vid. Tertull.*
Apol. cap. 14. † *Arnobius, ibid. Eusebius præp.*
Evangel. l. 14. cap. 10. ‡ *St. August. Confess. l. 1. cap. 14.*

they saw the fables could not be literally supported, endeavoured to find a hidden sense, and to carry on every where that vein of *allegory*, which was already broken open with success in some places. But how miserably were they forced to shifts, when they made ^a *Juno's* dressing in the *Cestros* for *Jupiter*, to signify the purging of the *air* as it approached the *fire*? Or the story of *Mars* and *Venus*, that inclination they have to incontinency who are born when these planets are in conjunction? Wit and learning had here a large field to display themselves, and to disagree in; for sometimes *Jupiter*, and sometimes *Vulcan* was made to signify the *fire*; or *Mars* and *Venus* were allowed to give us a lecture of *mortality* at one time, and a problem of *Astronomy* at another. And these strange discoveries, which *Porphry* ^b and the rest would have to pass for the genuine *theology* of the *Greeks*, prove but (as *Eusebius* ^c terms it) the perverting of fables into a mystick sense. They did indeed often defend *Homer*, but then they allegorized away their *Gods* by doing so. What the world took for substantial objects of adoration, dissolved into a figurative meaning, a moral truth, or a piece of learning, which might equally correspond to any religion; and the learned at last had left themselves

^a Plutarch on reading the Poets.

^b Porphyrius de

Antro Nymph. &c.

^c Eusebii Præpar. Evangel. l. 3.

cap. 1.

nothing to worship, when they came to find an object in Christianity.

The dispute of faith being over, ancient learning reassumed its dignity, and *Homer* obtained his proper place in the esteem of mankind.

Restoration of
Homer's works
to their just cha-
racter.

His books are now no longer the scheme of a living religion, but become the register of one of former times. They are not now received for a rule of life, but valued for those just observations which are dispersed through them. They are no longer pronounced from oracles, but quoted still by authors for their learning. Those remarks which the Philosophers made upon them, have their weight with us; those beauties which the Poets dwelt upon, their admiration: and even after the abatement of what was extravagant in his run of praise, he remains confessedly a mighty genius not transcended by any which have since arisen; a Prince, as well as a Father of *Poetry*.



S E C T. III.

A view of the
learning of *Ho-*
mer's time.

IT remains in this historical es-
say, to regulate our present opi-
nion of *Homer* by a view of his
learning, compared with that of his age. For
this end he may first be considered as a poet, that
character which was his professedly; and se-
condly as one endowed with other sciences,
which must be spoken of, not as in themselves,
but as in subserviency to his main design. Thus
he will be seen on his right foot of perfection in
one view, and with the just allowances which
should be made on the other. While we pass
through the several heads of science, the state of
those times in which he writ will show us both
the impediments he rose under, and the reasons
why several things in him which have been ob-
jected to, either could not, or should not be
otherwise than they are.

An ESSAY on HOMER. cxxvii

As for the state of *Poetry*, it was at a low pitch till the age of *Ho-*
mer. There is mention of *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and
Museus, venerable names in antiquity, and emi-
nently celebrated in fable for the wonderful power
of their songs and musick. The learned *Fabri-*
cius, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, has reckoned about
seventy who are said to have written before *Ho-*
mer; but their works were not preserved, and
that is a sort of proof they were not excellent.
What sort of Poets *Homer* saw in his own time,
may be gathered from his description of *De-*
modocus and *Phemius*, whom he has introduced
to celebrate his profession. The imperfect ri-
fings of the art lay then among the *extempore*
fingers of stories at banquets, who were half
fingers, half musicians. Nor was the name of
poet then in being, or once used throughout
Homer's works. From this poor state of poetry,
he has taken a handle to usher it into the world
with the boldest stroke of praise which has ever
been given it. It is in the eighth *Odysssey*, where
Ulysses puts *Demodocus* upon a trial of skill. *De-*
modocus having diverted the guests with some ac-
tions of the *Trojan* war; “^b All this (says
“ *Ulysses*) you have sung very elegantly, as if
“ you had either been present, or heard it re-
“ ported; but pass now to a subject I shall give

^a Od. 1st, and Od. 8th.

^b Odyss. l. viii. y. 487, &c.

“ you, sing the management of *Ulysses* in the
 “ wooden horse, just as it happened, and I will
 “ acknowledge the Gods have taught you your
 “ songs.” This the singer being inspired from
 heaven begins immediately, and *Ulysses* by weep-
 ing at the recital confesses the truth of it. We
 see here a narration which could only pass upon
 an age extremely ignorant in the nature of Poe-
 try, where that claim of inspiration is given to
 it which it has never since laid down, and (which
 is more) a power of prophesying at pleasure as-
 cribed to it. Thus much therefore we gather
 from himself, concerning the most ancient state
 of Poetry in *Greece*; that no one was honoured
 with the name of Poet, before him whom it has
 especially belonged to ever after. And if we
 farther appeal to the consent of authors, we find
 he has other titles for being called the first. ^c *Jo-*
sephus observes, That the *Greeks* have not con-
 tested, but he was the most ancient, whose books
 they had. ^d *Aristotle* says, He was the “ first
 “ who brought all the parts of a poem into one
 “ piece,” to which he adds, “ and with true
 “ judgment,” to give him a praise including
 both the invention and perfection. Whatever
 was serious or magnificent made a part of his
 subject: war and peace were the comprehen-
 sive division in which he considered the world;
 and the plans of his poems were founded on

^c *Joseph. contra Appion. l. 1.*^d *Arist. Poet. cap. 25.*

on the most active scenes of each, the adventures of a siege, and the accidents of a voyage. For these, his spirit was equally active and various, lofty in expression, clear in narration, natural in description, rapid in action, abundant in figures. If ever he appears less than himself, it is from the time he writ in; and if he runs into errors, it is from an excess, rather than a defect of genius. Thus he rose over the poetical world, shining out like a sun all at once; which if it sometimes make too *faint* an appearance, it is to be ascribed only to the unkindness of the season that clouds and obscures it, and if he is sometimes too *violent*, we confess at the same time that we owe all things to his heat.

As for his *Theology*, we see the Theology.
Heathen system entirely followed.

This was all he could then have to work upon, and where he fails of truth for want of revelation, he at least shews his knowledge in his own religion by the traditions he delivers. But we are now upon a point to be farther handled, because the greatest controversy concerning the merit of *Homer* depends upon it. Let us consider then, that there was an age in *Greece*, when natural reason only discovered in general, that there must be something superior to us, and corrupt tradition had affixed the notion to a number of deities. At this time *Homer* rose

with the finest turn imaginable for poetry, who designing to instruct mankind in the manner for which he was most adapted, made use of the ministry of the Gods to give the highest air of veneration to his writings. He found the Religion of mankind consisting of Fables; and their Morality and Political Instruction delivered in Allegories. Nor was it his business when he undertook the province of a Poet, (not of a mere Philosopher) to be the first who should discard that which furnishes Poetry with its most beautiful appearance: and especially, since the age he lived in, by discovering its taste, had not only given him authority, but even put him under the necessity of preserving it. Whatever therefore he might think of his Gods, he took them as he found them: he brought them into action according to the notions which were then entertained, and in such stories as were then believed; unless we imagine so great an absurdity, as that he invented every thing he delivers. Yet there are several rays of truth streaming through all this darkness, in those sentiments he entertains concerning the Providence of the Gods, delivered in several allegories lightly veiled over, from whence the learned afterwards pretended to draw new knowledges, each according to his power of penetration and fancy. But that we may the better comprehend him in all the parts

of this general view, let us extract from him a scheme of his religion.

He has a *Jupiter*, a *father of Gods and men*, to whom he applies several attributes, as wisdom, justice, knowledge, power, &c. which are essentially inherent to the idea of a God. * He has given him two *vessels*, out of which he distributes natural *good* or *evil* for the life of man: he places the Gods in council round him; he makes *Prayers* pass to and fro before him; and mankind adore him with sacrifice. But all this grand appearance wherein poetry paid a deference to reason, is dashed and mingled with the imperfection of our nature; not only with the applying our passions to the Supreme Being (for men have always been treated with this compliance to their notions) but that he is not even exempted from our common appetites and frailties: for he is made to eat, drink and sleep: but this his admirers would imagine to be only a grosser way of representing a general notion of happiness, because he says in one place, † that the food of the Gods was not of the same nature with ours. But upon the whole, while he endeavoured to speak of a deity without a right information, he was forced to take him from that image he discovered in *man*; and (like one who being dazzled with

* Iliad. xxiv. v. 527.
v. 340.

† Iliad. ix. v. 498.

‡ Il. v.

the sun in the heavens, would view him as he is reflected in a river) he has taken off the impression not only ruffled with the emotion of our passions, but obscured with the earthy mixture of our natures.

The other Gods have all their provinces assigned them; "Every thing has its peculiar deity, says ^a *Maximus Tyrius*, by which *Homer* would insinuate that the Godhead was "present to all things." When they are considered farther, we find he has turned the virtues and endowments of our minds into *persons*, to make the springs of action become visible; and because they are given by the Gods, he represents them as Gods themselves descending from heaven. In the same strong light he shews our vices, when they occasion misfortunes, like extraordinary powers which inflict them upon us; and even our natural punishments are represented as punishers themselves. But when we come to see the manner they are introduced in, they are found feasting, fighting, wounded by men, and shedding a sort of blood, in which his machines play a little too grossly: the fable which was admitted to procure the pleasure of surprise, violently oppresses the moral, and it may be lost labour to search for it in every minute circumstance, if indeed it

^a *Maxim. Tyrius, Diff. 16.*

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was intended to be there. The general strokes are however philosophical, the dress the poet's, which was used for convenience, and allowed to be ornamental. And something still may be offered in his defence, if he has both preserved the grand moral from being obscured, and adorned the parts of his works with such sentiments of the Gods as belonged to the age he lived in; which that he did, appears from his having then had that success for which allegory was contrived. "It is the madness of
" men, says ¹ *Maximus Tyrius*, to dis-esteem
" what is plain, and admire what is hidden;
" this the poets discovering, invented the fa-
" ble for a remedy, when they treated of holy
" matters; which being more obscure than
" conversation, and more clear than the riddle,
" is a mean between knowledge and ignorance;
" believed partly for being agreeable, and partly
" for being wonderful. Thus as Poets in
" name, and philosophers in effect, they drew
" mankind gradually to a search after truth,
" when the name of philosopher would have
" been harsh and displeasing."

When *Homer* proceeds to tell us our duty to these superiour beings, we find prayer, sacrifice, lustration, and all the rites which were esteemed religious, constantly recommended un-

¹ *Maxim. Tyrius, Diss. 29.*

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der fear of their displeasure. We find too a notion of the soul's subsisting after this life, but for want of revelation he knows not what to reckon the happiness of a future state, to any one who was not deified: which is plain from the speech of * *Achilles* to *Ulysses* in the region of the dead; where he tells him, that "he would rather serve the poorest creature upon earth, than rule over all the departed." It was chiefly for this reason that *Plato* excluded him his commonwealth; he thought *Homer* spoke indecently of the Gods, and dreadfully of a future state: but if he cannot be defended in every thing as a theologist, yet we may say in respect of his poetry, that he has enriched it from theology with true sentiments for profit; adorned it with allegories for pleasure; and by using some machines which have no farther significancy, or are so refined as to make it doubted if they have any, he has however produced that character in poetry which we call the *Marvellous*, and from which the *Agreeable* (according to *Aristotle*) is always inseparable.

Politicks. If we take the state of *Greece* at his time in a political view, we find it a ¹ disunited country, made up of small states; and whatever was managed in war amounted to no more than intestine skirmishes,

* *Odyss.* xi, v. 488.

¹ See *Thucydides*, lib. i.

or piracies abroad, which were easily revenged on account of their dis-union. Thus one people stole *Europa*, and another *Io*; the *Grecians* took *Hesione* from *Troy*, and the *Trojans* took *Helena* from *Greece* in revenge. But this last having greater friends and alliances than any upon whom the rapes had hitherto fallen, the ruin of *Troy* was the consequence; and the force of the *Asiatick* coasts was so broken, that this accident put a stop to the age of piracies. Then the intestine broils of *Greece* (which had been discontinued during the league) were renewed upon its dissolution. War and sedition moved people from place to place, during its want of inhabitants; Exiles from one country were received for Kings in another; and Leaders took tracts of ground to bestow them upon their followers. Commerce was neglected, living at home unsafe, and nothing of moment transacted by any but against their neighbours. *Athens* only, where the people were undisturbed because it was a barren soil which no body coveted, had begun to send colonies abroad, being over-stocked with inhabitants.

Now a poem coming out at such a time, with a moral capable of healing these disorders by promoting *Union*; we may reasonably think it was designed for that end, to which it is so peculiarly adapted. If we imagine therefore that *Homer* was a politician in this affair, we may

suppose him to have looked back into the ages past, to see if at any time these disorders had been less; and to have pitched upon that story, wherein they found a temporary cure; that by celebrating it with all possible honour he might instil a desire of the same sort of union into the hearts of his countrymen. This indeed was a work which could belong to none but a poet, when Governors had power only over small territories, and the numerous Governments were every way independent. It was then that all the charms of poetry were called forth, to insinuate the important glory of an alliance; and the *Iliad* delivered as an Oracle from the Muses, with all the pomp of words and artificial influence. Union among themselves was recommended, peace at home, and glory abroad: and lest general precepts should be rendered useless by misapplications, he gives minute and particular lessons concerning it: how when his Kings quarrel, their subjects suffer; when they act in conjunction, victory attends them: therefore when they meet in council, plans are drawn, and provisions made for future action; and when in the field, the arts of war are described with the greatest exactness. These were lectures of general concern to mankind, proper for the poet to deliver, and Kings to attend to; such as made *Porphyry* write of the profit that princes might receive from

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Homer; and *Stratocles*, *Hermias*, and *Frontinus* extract military discipline out of him. Thus though *Plato* has banished him from one imaginary commonwealth, he has still been serviceable to many real kingdoms.

The morality of *Greece* could not be perfect while there was a natural weakness in its government; faults in politics are occasioned by faults in Ethics, and occasion them in their turn. The division into so many states was the rise of frequent quarrels, whereby men were bred up in a rough untractable disposition. Bodily strength met with the greatest honours, because it was daily necessary to the subsistence of little governments, and that headlong courage which throws itself forward to enterprise and plunder, was universally carested, because it carried all things before it. It is no wonder in an age of such education and customs, that, as ^m *Thucydides* says, "Robbing was honoured, provided it were done with gallantry, and that the ancient poets made people question one another as they failed by, *if they were thieves?*" as "a thing for which no one ought either to be scorned or upbraided." These were the sort of actions which the fingers then recorded, and

Morality.

^m *Thucyd. lib. I.*

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it was out of such an age that *Homer* was to take his subjects. For this reason (not a want of morality in him) we see a boasting temper and unmanaged roughness in the spirit of his Héroes, which ran out in pride, anger, or cruelty. It is not in him as in our modern Romances, where men are drawn in perfection, and we but read with a tender weakness what we can neither apply nor emulate. *Homer* writ for men, and therefore he writ of them; if the world had been better, he would have shewn it so; as the matter now stands, we see his people with the turn of his age, insatiably thirsting after glory and plunder; for which however he has found them a lawful cause, and taken care to retard their success by the intemperance of those very appetites.

In the prosecution of the story, every part of it has its lessons of morality: there is brotherly love in *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, friendship in *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, and the love of his country in *Hector*. But since we have spoken of the *Iliad* as more particular for its politicks, we may consider the *Odysssey* as its moral is more directly framed for ethicks. It carries the Hero through a world of trials both of the dangerous and pleasurable nature. It shews him first under most surprising weights of adversity, among shipwrecks and savages; all these

he is made to pass through, in the methods by which it becomes a man to conquer; a patience in suffering, and a presence of mind in every accident. It shews him again in another view, tempted with the baits of idle or unlawful pleasures; and then points out the methods of being safe from them. But if in general we consider the care our author has taken to fix his lessons of morality by the proverbs and precepts he delivers, we shall not wonder if *Greece*, which afterwards gave the appellation of *wise* to men who settled *single sentences* of truth, should give him the title of the *Father of Virtue*, for introducing such a number. To be brief, if we take the opinion of ^a *Horace*, he has proposed him to us as a master of morality; he lays down the common philosophical division of *good*, into *pleasant*, *profitable*, and *best*; and then asserts that *Homer* has more fully and clearly instructed us in each of them, than the most rigid philosophers.

Some indeed have thought, notwithstanding all this, that *Homer* had only a design to please in his inventions; and that others have since extracted morals out of his stories (as indeed all stories are capable of being used so). But

^a Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non, Plinius & melius Chrysippo & Crantore dicit.

Hor. Ep. 2. lib. 1.

this is an opinion concerning Poetry, which the world has rather degenerated into, than begun with. The traditions of *Orpheus's* civilizing mankind by moral poems, with others of the like nature, may shew there was a better use of the art both known and practised. There is also a remarkable passage of this kind in the third book of the *Odyssy*, that *Agamemnon* left one of the ° Poets of those times in his Court when he sailed for *Troy*; and that his Queen was preserved virtuous by his songs, till *Ægyſthus* was forced to expel him in order to debauch her. Here he has hinted what a true poetical spirit can do, when applied to the promotion of virtue; and from this one may judge he could not but design *that* himself, which he recommends as the duty and merit of his profession. Others since his time may have seduced the art to worse intentions; but they who are offended at the liberties of some poets, should not condemn all in the gross for trifling or corruption; especially when the evidence runs so strongly for any one, to the contrary.

We may in general go on to observe, that at the time when *Homer* was born, *Greece* did not abound in learning. For where-ever Politics and Morality are weak, learning wants

• *Odyſſ.* iii. v. 267.

its peaceable air to thrive in. He has however introduced as much of their Learning, and even of what he learned from *Ægypt*, as the nature and compass of his work would admit. But that we may not mistake the Elogies of those ancients who call him the *Father of Arts and Sciences*, and be surpris'd to find so little of them (as they are now in perfection) in his works; we should know that this character is not to be understood at large, as if he had included the full and regular systems of every thing: he is to be considered professedly only in quality of a poet; this was his business, to which as whatever he knew was to be subservient, so he has not failed to introduce those strokes of knowledge from the whole circle of arts and sciences, which the subject demanded, either for necessity or ornament. And secondly, it should be observed, that many of those Notions, which his great Genius drew only from Nature and the Truth of things, have been imagined to proceed from his acquaintance with arts and sciences, invented long after; to which that they were applicable, was no wonder, since both his notions and those sciences were equally founded in Truth and Nature.

Before his time there were no historians in *Greece*: he treated History. historically of past transactions, according as

he could be informed by tradition, song, or whatever method there was of preserving their memory. For this we have the consent of antiquity; they have generally more appealed to his authority, and more insisted on it, than on the testimony of any other writer, when they treat of the rites, customs, and manners of the first times. They have generally believed that the acts of *Tydeus* at *Thebes*, the second siege of that city, the settlement of *Rhodes*, the battle between the *Curetes* and the *Ætolians*, the succession of the Kings of *Mycenæ* by the sceptre of *Agamemnon*, the acts of the *Greeks* at *Troy*, and many other such accounts, are some of them wholly preserved by him, and the rest as faithfully related as by any historian. Nor perhaps was all of his invention which seems to be feigned, but rather frequently the obscure traces and remains of real persons and actions; which as ^p *Strabo* observes, when history was transmitted by oral tradition, might be mixed with fable before it came into the hands of the poet. “ This happened (says he) to *Herodotus*,
“ the first professed historian, who is as fabulous as *Homer* when he defers to the common
“ reports of countries; and it is not to be imputed to either as a fault, but as a necessity

^p *Strabo*, l. i.

" of the times." Nay, the very passages which cause us to tax them at this distance with being fabulous, might be occasioned by their diligence, and a fear of erring, if they too hastily rejected those reports which had passed current in the nations they described.

Before this time there was no such thing as *Geography* in Greece. Geography.
For this we have the suffrage of ^a *Strabo*, the best of Geographers, who approves the opinion of *Hipparchus* and other ancients, that *Homer* was the very author of it; and upon this account begins his treatise of the science itself, with an *encomium* on him. As to the general part of it, we find he had a knowledge of the Earth's being surrounded with the Ocean, because he makes the Sun and Stars both to rise and set in it; and that he knew the use of the Stars is plain from his making *Ulysses* sail by the observation of them. But the instance of tenest alledged upon this point is the shield of *Achilles*; where he places the Earth encompassed with the Sea, and gives the Stars the names they are yet known by, as the *Hyades*, *Pleiades*, the *Bear*, and *Orion*. By the three first of these he represents the constellations of the northern region; and in the last he gives a

^a *Strabo, ibid. initio.* [†] *Odyss. l. v. §. 272.* ^{*} *Iliad.*
xviii. §. 482, &c.

single representative of the southern, to which (as it were for a counter-balance) he adds a title of greatness, *Θέρον Ὀπίον*. Then he tells us that the *Bear*, or Stars of the Arctick Circle, never disappear; as an observation which agrees with no other. And if to this we add (what *Eratosthenes* thought he meant) that the five plates which were fastened on the shield, divided it by the lines where they met, into the five Zones, it will appear an original design of globes and spheres. In the particular parts of *Geography* his knowledge is entirely incontestable. *Strabo* refers to him upon all occasions, allowing that he knew the extremes of the Earth, some of which he names, and others he describes by signs, as the *fortunate Islands*. The same author takes notice of his accounts concerning the several soils, plants, animals and customs; as *Ægypt's* being fertile of medicinal herbs; *Lybia's* fruitfulness, where the Ewes have horns, and yearn thrice a year, &c. which are knowledges that make *Geography* more various and profitable. But what all have agreed to celebrate is his description of *Greece*, (which had laws made for its preservation, and contests between governments decided by its authority): which *Strabo* acknowledges to have

* *Strabo*, l. 1.

° *Strabo*, l. 8.

no epithet, or ornamental expression for any place, that is not drawn from its nature, quality, or circumstances; and professes (after so long an interval) to deviate from it only where the country had undergone alterations, that cast the description into obscurity.

In his time *Rhetorick* was not known: that art took its rise out of poetry, which was not till then established. Rhetorick.
 " The oratorical elocution (says * *Strabo*) is but
 " an imitation of the poetical; this appeared
 " first and was approved: they who imitated
 " it, took off the measures, but still preserved
 " all the other parts of poetry in their writings:
 " such were *Cadmus* the *Milesian*, *Pherocydes*,
 " and *Hecataeus*. Then their followers took
 " something more from what was left, and
 " at last elocution descended into the prose
 " which is now among us." But if *Rhetorick*
 is owing to poetry, the obligation is still more due to *Homer*. He (as * *Quintilian* tells us) gave both the pattern and rise to all the parts of it. "*Hic omnibus eloquentiæ partibus exemplum & ortum dedit: hunc nemo in magnis rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, superavit. Idem lætus & pressus, jucundus & gravis, tum copiâ tum brevitate admirabilis, nec*

* *Strabo*, l. i.

* *Quintil.* l. 10. cap. i.

“ *poeticâ modo sed oratoriâ virtute eminentissimus;*”
 From him therefore they who settled the art found it proper to deduce the rules, which was easily done, when they had divided their observations into the kinds and the ornaments of elocution. For the kinds, the “ ancients (says “ *A. Gell.*) settled them according to the three “ which they observe in his principal speakers; “ his *Ulysses*, who is magnificent and flowing; “ his *Menelaus*, who is short and close; and “ his *Nestor*, who is moderate and dispassioned, “ and has a kind of middle eloquence participating of both the former.” And for the ornaments, “ *Aristotle*, the great master of the Rhetoricians, shews what deference is due to *Homer*, when he orders the orator to lay down his heads, and express both the manners and affections of his work, with an imitation of that diction, and those figures, which the *divine Homer* excelled in. This is the constant language of those who succeeded him, and the opinion so far prevailed as to make “ *Quintilian* observe, that they who have written concerning the art of speaking, take from *Homer* most of the instances of their similitudes, amplifications, examples, digressions, and arguments.

“ *Aulus Gell. l. 7. cap. 14.* “ *Arist. Topic.* “ *Quint. l. 10.*

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As to *natural philosophy*, the age was not arrived when the *Greeks* Natural philosophy: cultivated and reduced into system the Principles of it which they learned from *Ægypt*: yet we see many of these Principles delivered up and down in his work. But as this is a branch of learning which does not lie much in the way of a Poet who speaks of Heroes and Wars; the desire to prove his knowledge this way, has only run ^b *Politian* and others into trifling inferences; as when they would have it that he understood the secrets of Philosophy, because he mentions sun, rain, wind and thunder. The most plausible way of making out his knowledge in this kind, is by supposing he couched it in allegories; and that he sometimes used the *names of the Gods* as his *Terms* for the *Elements*, as the *Chymists* now use them for *Metals*. But in applying this to him we must tread very carefully; not searching for allegory too industriously, where the passage may instruct by example; and endeavouring rather to find the fable an ornament to plain truths, than to make it a cover to curious and unknown problems.

As for *Medicine*, something of it Phyick. must have been understood in that

^b Politian. *Præfatio in Hom.*

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age; though in *Greece* it was so far from perfection, that what concerned *Diet* was invented long after by *Hippocrates*. The accidents of life make the search after remedies too indispensable a duty to be neglected at any time. Accordingly he ^c tells us, that the *Ægyptians* who had many medicinal plants in their country, were all Physicians; and perhaps he might have learnt his own skill from his acquaintance with that nation. The state of war which *Greece* had lived in, required a knowledge in the healing of wounds: and this might make him breed his princes, *Achilles*, *Patroclus*, *Podalirius*, and *Machaon*, to the science. What *Homer* thus attributes to others, he knew himself, and he has given us reason to believe, not slightly. For if we consider his insight into the structure of the human body, it is so nice, that he has been judged by some to have wounded his Heroes with too much science: or if we observe his cure of wounds, which are the accidents proper to an Epic poem, we find him directing the surgical operation, sometimes infusing ^d lenitives, and at other times bitter powders when the effusion of blood required astringent qualities.

Statuary. For *Statuary*, it appears by the accounts of *Ægypt* and the *Palla-*

^c Odyss. l. iv. y. 231.
in fine.

^d Iliad. iv. y. 218. and Iliad. xi.

dium, that there was enough of it very early in the world, for those images which were required in the worship of their Gods; but there are none mentioned as valuable in *Greece* so early, nor was the art established on its rules before *Homer*. He found it agreeable to the worship in use, and necessary for his machinery, that his Gods should be cloathed in bodies: wherefore he took care to give them such as carried the utmost perfection of the human form; and distinguished them from each other even in this superior beauty, with such marks as were agreeable to each of the Deities. "This," says *Strabo*, awakened the conceptions of "the most eminent statuaries, while they strove "to keep up the grandeur of that idea, which "*Homer* had impressed upon the imagination, "as we read of *Pheidias* concerning their statue "of *Jupiter*." And because they copied their Gods from him in their best performances, his descriptions became the *characters* which were afterwards pursued in all works of good taste. Hence came the common saying of the ancients, "That either *Homer* was the only man who "had seen the forms of the Gods, or the only "one who had shewn them to men;" a passage which *Madam Dacier* wrests to prove the truth

* *Strabo*, l. 8.

Dacier, *Preface to Homer*.

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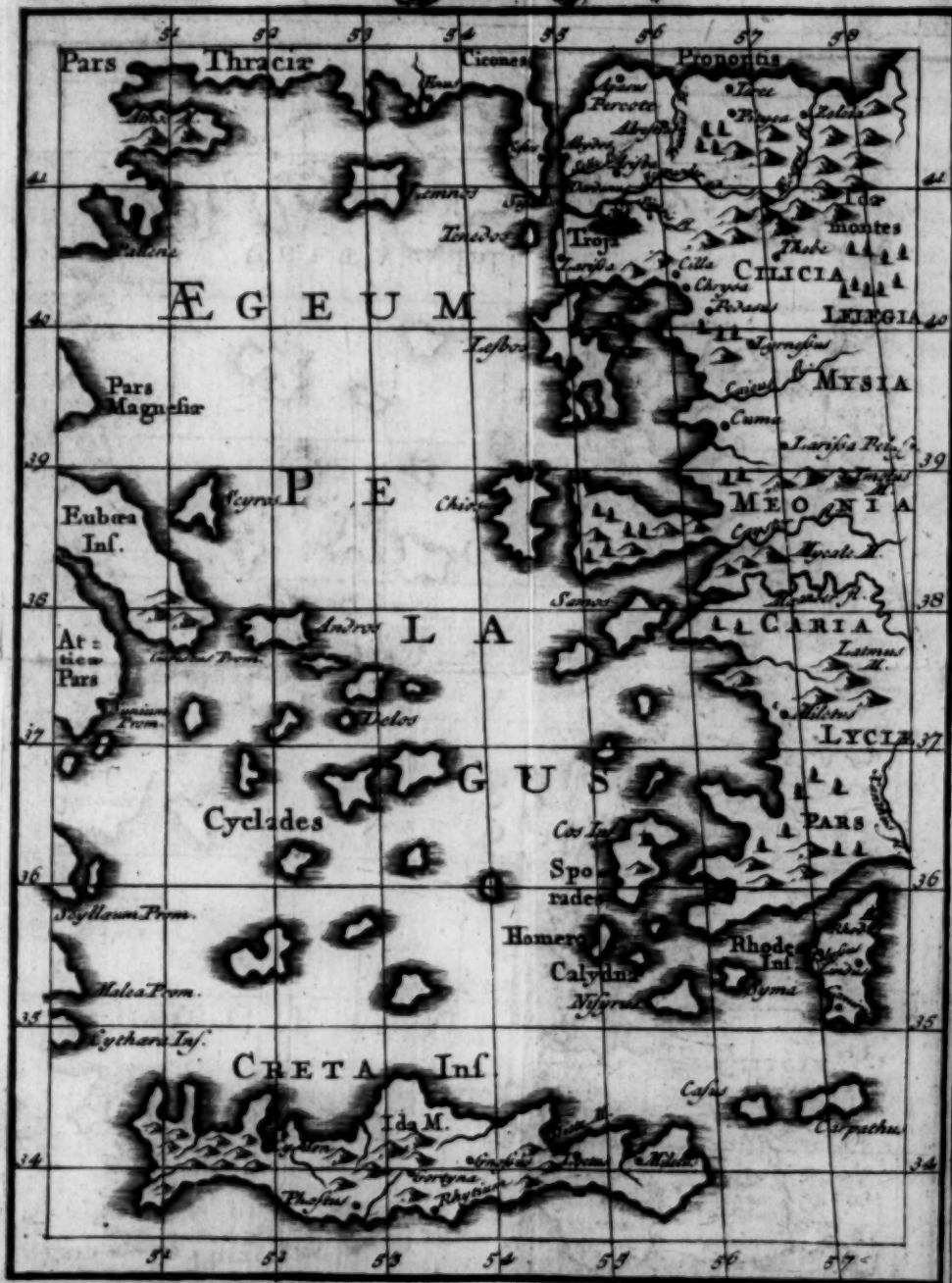
of his theology, different from *Strabo's* acceptation of it.

There are, besides what we have spoken of, other sciences pretended to be found in him. Thus *Macrobius* discovers that the *chain* with which ^a *Jupiter* says he could lift the world, is a *metaphysical notion*, that means a connexion of all things from the Supreme Being to the meanest part of the creation. Others, to prove him skilful in *judicial Astrology*, bring a quotation concerning the births of ^b *Hector* and *Polydamas* on the same night; who were nevertheless of different qualifications, one excelling in war, and the other in eloquence: others again will have him to be versed in *Magick*, from his stories concerning *Circe*. These and many of the like nature are interpretations strained or trifling, such as are not wanted for a proof of *Homer's* learning, and by which we contribute nothing to raise his character, while we sacrifice our judgment in the eyes of others.

It is sufficient to have gone thus far, in shewing he was the father of learning, a soul capable of ranging over the whole creation with an intellectual view, shining alone in an age of obscurity, and shining beyond those who

^a Il. viii. v. 19. Vid. *Macrobi. de somn. Scip. l. i. c. 14.*
^b Il. xviii. v. 252.





have had the advantage of more learned ages ; leaving behind him a work not only adorned with all the knowledge of his own time, but in which he has beforehand broken up the fountains of several sciences which were brought nearer to perfection by posterity : a work which shall always stand at the top of the sublime character, to be gazed at by readers with an admiration of its perfection, and by writers with a despair that it should ever be emulated with success.



X

AN ESSAY ON HONOR

have had the advantage of more learned age
leaving behind him a work not only adorned
with all the knowledge of his own time, but
in which he has collected proof upon the force
of several sciences which were brought
into reputation by himself: a work which
shall always stand at the top of the sublime
character, to be read as by a man with an
acquaintance of his principles, and his wisdom
with a fear that it should ever be emulated
with modesty.



THE
FIRST BOOK
OF THE
ILIAD.



VOL. I.

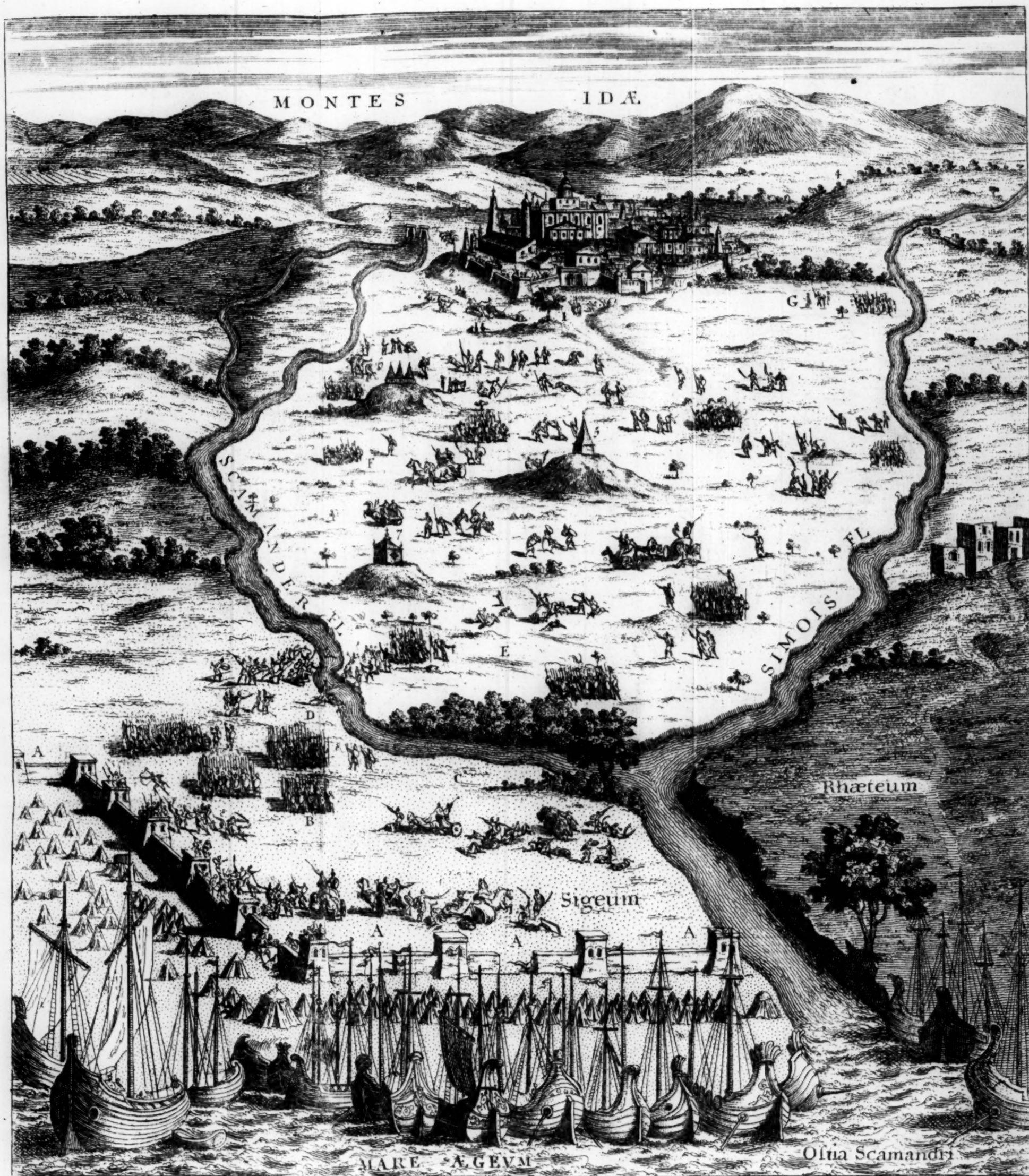
B

The A R G U M E N T.

The Contention of *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*.

IN the war of Troy, the Greeks having sacked some of the neighbouring towns, and taken from thence two beautiful captives Chryseïs and Briseïs, allotted the first to Agamemnon, and the last to Achilles. Chryses, the father of Chryseïs, and priest of Apollo, comes to the Grecian camp to ransom her; with which the action of the poem opens, in the tenth year of the siege. The priest being refused and insolently dismissed by Agamemnon, intreats for vengeance from his God, who inflicts a pestilence on the Greeks. Achilles calls a council, and encourages Chalcas to declare the cause of it, who attributes it to the refusal of Chryseïs. The king being obliged to send back his captive, enters into a furious contest with Achilles, which Nestor pacifies; however, as he had the absolute command of the army, he seizes on Briseïs in revenge. Achilles in discontent withdraws himself and his forces from the rest of the Greeks; and complaining to Thetis, she supplicates Jupiter to render them sensible of the wrong done to her son, by giving victory to the Trojans. Jupiter granting her suit incenses Juno, between whom the debate runs high, till they are reconciled by the address of Vulcan.

The time of two and twenty days is taken up in this book; nine during the plague, one in the council and quarrel of the Princes, and twelve for Jupiter's stay with the Æthiopians, at whose return Thetis prefers her petition. The scene lies in the Grecian camp, then changes to Chrysa, and lastly to Olympus.



TROJA cum Locis pertinentibus. 1. Porta Scaea & Tagus. 2. Caprificus. 3. Fontes Scamandri duo. 4. Calliclone prope Simoim. 5. Batia seu Sepulcrum Myrinnis. 6. Ili Monumentum. 7. Tumulus Esietis. AA. Murus Achivorum. B. Locus Pugnae ante naves in lib. 8. 12. 13. 14. C. Gestâ Diomedis hoc loco lib. 5. D. Achillis & Scamandri Certatio lib. 22. E. Locus Pugnae in lib. 6. F. Pugnae in lib. 11. G. Pugnae in lib. 20.

L. Harris fecit.



THE
FIRST BOOK
OF THE
ILIAD.

ACHILLES' Wrath, to *Greece* the direful spring
Of woes unnumber'd, heav'nly Goddess sing!
That Wrath which hurl'd to *Pluto's* gloomy reign
The Souls of mighty Chiefs untimely slain;

NOTES.

IT is something strange that of all the commentators upon *Homer*, there is hardly one whose principal design is to illustrate the poetical beauties of the author. They are voluminous in explaining those sciences which he made but subservient to his Poetry, and sparing only upon that art which constitutes his character. This has been occasioned by the ostentation of men who had more reading than taste, and

Whose limbs unbury'd on the naked shore, 5
 Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore :

were fonder of shewing their variety of learning in all kinds, than their single understanding in Poetry. Hence it comes to pass, that their remarks are rather philosophical, historical, geographical, allegorical, or in short any thing rather than critical and poetical. Even the Grammarians, tho' their whole business and use be only to render the words of an author intelligible, are strangely touched with the pride of doing something more than they ought. The grand ambition of one sort of scholars is to increase the number of *various lessons*; which they have done to such a degree of obscure diligence, that (as Sir *H. Savil* observed) we now begin to value the first editions of books as most correct, because they have been least corrected. The prevailing passion of others is to discover *new meanings* in the author, whom they will cause to appear mysterious purely for the vanity of being thought to unravel him. These account it a disgrace to be of the opinion of those that preceded them; and it is generally the fate of such people who will never say what was said before, to say what will never be said after them. If they can but find a word, that has once been strained by some dark writer, to signify any thing different from its usual acceptation; it is frequent with them to apply it constantly to that uncommon meaning, whenever they meet it in a clear writer: for reading is so much dearer to them than sense, that they will discard it at any time to make way for a criticism. In other places where they cannot contest the truth of the common interpretation, they get themselves room for dissertation by imaginary *Amphibologies*, which they will have to be designed by the Author. This disposition of finding out different significations in one thing, may be the effect of either too much, or too little wit: for men of a right understanding generally see at once all that an author can reasonably mean, but others are apt to fancy two meanings for want of knowing one. Not to add, that there is a vast deal of difference between the learning of a Critick, and the puzzling of a Grammarian.

Since great *Achilles* and *Atrides* strove,
Such was the sov'reign doom, and such the will of
Jove!

It is no easy task to make something out of a hundred pedants that is not pedantical; yet this he must do, who would give a tolerable abstract of the former expositors of *Homer*. The commentaries of *Eustathius* are indeed an immense treasury of the *Greek* learning; but as he seems to have amassed the substance of whatever others had written upon the author, so he is not free from some of the foregoing censures. There are those who have said, that a judicious abstract of him alone might furnish out sufficient illustrations upon *Homer*. It was resolved to take the trouble of reading through that voluminous work, and the reader may be assured those remarks that any way concern the poetry, or art of the poet, are much fewer than is imagined. The greater part of these is already plundered by succeeding commentators, who have very little, but what they owe to him: and I am obliged to say even of *Madam Dacier*, that she is either more beholden to him than she has confessed, or has read him less than she is willing to own. She has made a farther attempt than her predecessors to discover the beauties of the Poet; though we have often only her general praises and exclamations, instead of reasons. But her remarks all together are the most judicious collection extant of the scattered observations of the antients and moderns, as her preface is excellent, and her translation equally careful and elegant.

The chief design of the following notes is to comment upon *Homer* as a Poet; whatever in them is extracted from others is constantly owned; the remarks of the ancients are generally set at length, and the places cited; all those of *Eustathius* are collected which fall under this scheme; many which were not acknowledged by other commentators, are restored to the true owner; and the same justice is shewn to those who refused it to others,

Declare, O Muse ! in what ill-fated hour
 Sprung the fierce strife, from what offended
 Pow'r ?

10

THE plan of this poem is formed upon anger and its ill effects, the plan of *Virgil's* upon pious resignation and its rewards ; and thus every passion or virtue may be the foundation of the scheme of an Epic poem. This distinction between two authors who have been so successful, seemed necessary to be taken notice of, that they who would imitate either may not stumble at the very entrance, or so curb their imaginations, as to deprive us of noble morals told in a new variety of accidents. Imitation does not hinder Invention : we may observe the rules of nature, and write in the spirit of those who have best hit upon them ; without taking the same track, beginning in the same manner, and following the main of their story almost step by step ; as most of the modern writers of Epick poetry have done after one of these great poets.

§. 1.] *Quintilian* has told us, that from the beginning of *Homer's* two poems the rules of all *Exordiums* were derived. “ *In paucissimis versibus utriusque operis ingressu, legem Proæmiorum non dico servavit, sed constituit.*” Yet *Rapin* has been very free with this invocation, in his *Comparison between Homer and Virgil* ; which is by no means the most judicious of his works. He cavils first at the Poet's insisting so much upon the effects of *Achilles's* anger, That it was “ the cause of the “ woes of the *Greeks*,” that it “ sent so many heroes to “ the shades,” that “ their bodies were left a prey to birds “ and beasts,” the first of which he thinks had been sufficient. One may answer, that the woes of *Greece* might consist in several other things than in the death of her Heroes, which was therefore needful to be specified : as to the bodies, he might have reflected how great a curse the want of burial

Latona's son a dire contagion spread,
And heap'd the camp with mountains of the dead;

was accounted by the ancients, and how prejudicial it was esteem-
ed even to the souls of the deceased. We have a most particular
example of the strength of this opinion from the conduct of *Sophocles* in his *Ajax*; who thought this very point sufficient to
make the distress of the last act of that tragedy, which is ex-
tended after the death of his Hero, purely to satisfy the au-
dience that he obtained the rites of sepulture. Next he objects
it as preposterous in *Homer* to desire the Muse to tell him the
whole story, and at the same time to inform her solemnly in his
own person that 'twas the will of *Jove* which brought it about.
But is a Poet then to be imagined intirely ignorant of his subject,
tho' he invokes the Muse to relate the particulars? may not
Homer be allowed the knowledge of so plain a truth, as that
the will of God is fulfilled in all things? nor does his manner
of saying this infer that he informs the Muse of it, but only
corresponds with the usual way of desiring information from
another concerning any thing, and at the same time men-
tioning that little we know of it in general. What is there
more in this passage? "Sing, O Goddess, that wrath of *Achilles*,
" which proved so pernicious to the *Greeks*: we only know
" the effects of it, that it sent innumerable brave men to the
" shades, and that it was *Jove's* will it should be so. But
" tell me, O Muse, what was the source of this destructive
" anger?" I cannot comprehend what *Rapin* means by saying,
it is hard to know where this *Invocation* ends, and that it is
confounded with the *narration*, which so manifestly begins
at *Ἀντὶς δὲ Διὸς νόος*. But upon the whole, methinks the *French*
Criticks play double with us, when they sometimes represent
the rules of poetry to be formed upon the practice of *Homer*,
and at other times arraign their master, as if he transgressed
them. *Horace* has said the *Exordium* of an Epic poem ought
to be plain and modest, and instances *Homer's* as such; and

The King of men his rev'rend Priest defy'd,
And for the King's offence the people dy'd,

Rapin from this very rule will be trying *Homer* and judging it otherwise (for he criticises also upon the beginning of the *Odyssey*.) But for a full answer we may bring the words of *Quintilian* (whom *Rapin* himself allows to be the best of critics) concerning these propositions and invocations of our author, “*Benevolum auditorem invocatione dearum quas præsidere vatibus creditum est, intentum propositâ rerum magnitudine, & docilem summâ celeriter comprehensâ, facit.*”

ψ. 1.] Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆϊ.

Plutarch observes there is a defect in the measure of this first line (I suppose he means in the *Eta*'s of the Patronymick.) This, he thinks, the fiery vein of *Homer*, making haste to his subject, past over with a bold neglect, being conscious of his own power and perfection in the greater parts; as some (says he) who make virtue their sole aim, pass by censure in smaller matters. But perhaps we may find no occasion to suppose this a neglect in him, if we consider that the word *Pelides*, had he made use of it without so many alterations as he has put it to in Πηληϊάδεω, would still have been true to the rules of measure. Make but a diphthong of the second *Eta* and the *Iota*, instead of their being two syllables (perhaps by the fault of transcribers) and the objection is gone. Or perhaps it might be designed, that the verse in which he professes to sing of violent anger should run off in the rapidity of Dactyls. This art he is allowed to have used in other places, and *Virgil* has been particularly celebrated for it.

ψ. 8. *Will of Jove.*] *Plutarch* in his treatise of reading poets, interprets Δῖς in this place to signify *Fate*, not imagining it consistent with the goodness of the supreme being, or *Jupiter*, to contrive or practice any evil against men. *Eustathius* makes [*Will*] here to refer to the promise which *Jupiter* gave to *Thetis*, that he would honour her son by siding with *Troy*, while he should be absent. But to reconcile these two

For *Chryses* fought with costly gifts to gain 15
His captive daughter from the victor's chain.

opinions, perhaps, the meaning may be, that when *Fate* had decreed the destruction of *Troy*, *Jupiter* having the power of incidents to bring it to pass, fulfilled that decree by providing means for it. So that the words may thus specify the time of Action from the beginning of the poem, in which those incidents worked, till the promise to *Thetis* was fulfilled and the destruction of *Troy* ascertained to the *Greeks* by the death of *Hector*. However it is certain that this Poet was not an absolute *Fatalist*, but still supposed the power of *Jove* superior: for in the sixteenth *Iliad*, we see him designing to save *Sarpedon*, though the Fates had decreed his death if *Juno* had not interposed. Neither does he exclude *free-will* in men; for as he attributes the destruction of the Heroes to the will of *Jove* in the beginning of the *Iliad*, so he attributes the destruction of *Ulysses's* friends to their own folly in the beginning of the *Odyssees*.

Αὐτῶν γὰρ σφίτερον ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἔλοντο.

ψ. 9. *Declare, O Muse.*] It may be questioned whether the first period ends at Διὸς δ' ἐταίμετο βουλῇ, and the interrogation to the *Muse* begins with 'Ἐξ ἧ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα——Or whether the period does not end till the words, θεὸς Ἀχαιεύς, with only a single interrogation at Τίς τ' αἶσ' σφῶν θεῶν——? I should be inclined to favour the former, and think it a double interrogative, as *Milton* seems to have done in his imitation of this place at the beginning of *Paradise Lost*.

——Say first what cause

Mov'd our grand parents, &c. And just after,

Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?

Besides that I think the proposition concludes more nobly with the sentence, *Such was the will of Jove*. But the latter being followed by most editions, and by all the translations I

Suppliant the venerable father stands,

Apollo's awful ensigns grace his hands :

By these he begs ; and lowly bending down,

Extends the sceptre and the laurel crown. 20

He sued to all, but chief implor'd for grace

The Brother-Kings, of *Atreus'* royal race.

have seen in any language, the general acceptation is here complied with, only transposing the line to keep the sentence last : and the next verses are so turned as to include the double interrogation, and at the same time do justice to another interpretation of the words *Ἐξ ἧς τὰ, Ex quo tempore* ; which makes the *date* of the quarrel from whence the poem takes its rise. *Chapman* would have *Ex quo* understood of *Jupiter*, from whom the debate was suggested ; but this clashes with the line immediately following, where he asks, what God inspired the contention ? and answers it was *Apollo*.

γ. 11. *Latona's son.*] Here the Author, who first invoked the Muse as the Goddess of Memory, vanishes from the reader's view, and leaves her to relate the whole affair through the poem, whose presence from this time diffuses an air of majesty over the relation. And lest this should be lost to our thoughts in the continuation of the story, he sometimes refreshes them with a new invocation at proper intervals. *Eustathius*.

γ. 20. *The sceptre and the laurel crown.*] There is something exceedingly venerable in this appearance of the priest. He comes with the ensigns of the God he belonged to ; the laurel crown, now carried in his hand, to shew he was a suppliant ; and a golden sceptre, which the ancients gave in particular to *Apollo*, as they did a silver one to the moon, and other sorts to the planets. *Eustathius*,

Ye Kings and warriors! may your vows be
crown'd,

And *Troy's* proud walls lie level with the ground.

May *Jove* restore you, when your toils are o'er, 25

Safe to the pleasures of your native shore.

But oh! relieve a wretched parent's pain,

And give *Chryseis* to these arms again ;

If mercy fail, yet let my presents move,

And dread avenging *Phæbus*, son of *Jove*. 30

The *Greeks* in shouts their joint assent declare,

The priest to rev'rence, and release the fair.

§. 23. *Ye Kings and warriors.*] The art of this speech is remarkable. *Chryses* considers the constitution of the *Greeks* before *Troy*, as made up of troops partly from Kingdoms and partly from Democracies : wherefore he begins with a distinction which comprehends all. After this, as *Apollo's* priest, he prays that they may obtain the two blessings they had most in view, the conquest of *Troy*, and a safe return. Then, as he names his petition, he offers an extraordinary ransom ; and concludes with bidding them fear the God if they refuse it ; like one who from his office seems to foresee their misery, and exhorts them to shun it. Thus he endeavours to work by the art of a general application, by religion, by interest, and the insinuation of danger. This is the substance of what *Eustathius* remarks on this place ; and in pursuance to his last observation, the epithet *Avenging* is added to this version, that it may appear the priest foretells the anger of his God.

Not so *Atrides*: He, with kingly pride,
Repuls'd the sacred Sire, and thus reply'd :

Hence on thy life, and fly these hostile plains, 35
Nor ask, presumptuous, what the King detains;
Hence, with thy laurel crown, and golden rod,
Nor trust too far those ensigns of thy God.

Mine is thy daughter, Priest, and shall remain;
And pray'rs, and tears, and bribes shall plead
in vain; 40

Till time shall rife ev'ry youthful grace,
And age dismiss her from my cold embrace,

γ. 33. *He with pride repuls'd.*] It has been remarked in honour of *Homer's* judgment, and the care he took of his reader's morals, that where he speaks of evil actions committed, or hard words given, he generally characterises them as such by a previous expression. This passage is given as one instance of it, where he says the repulse of *Chryses* was a proud injurious action in *Agamemnon*: and it may be remarked, that before his Heroes treat one another with hard language in this book, he still takes care to let us know they were under a distraction of anger. *Plutarch, of reading Poets.*

γ. 41. Till time shall rife ev'ry youthful grace,
And age dismiss her from my cold embrace,
In daily labours of the loom employ'd,
Or doom'd to deck the bed she once enjoy'd.]

The Greek is ἀνύωσαν, which signifies either *making* the bed, or *partaking* it. *Eustathius* and *Madam Dacier* insist very much upon its being taken in the former sense only, for fear of pre-

In daily labours of the loom employ'd,
 Or doom'd to deck the bed she once enjoy'd.
 Hence then; to *Argos* shall the maid retire, 45
 Far from her native soil, and weeping fire.

The trembling priest along the shore return'd,
 And in the anguish of a father mourn'd.

sending a loose idea to the reader, and of offending against the modesty of the Muse, who is supposed to relate the Poem. This observation may very well become a Bishop and a Lady: But that *Agamemnon* was not studying here for civility of expression, appears from the whole tenor of his speech; and that he designed *Chryseis* for more than a servant maid, may be seen from some other things he says of her, as that he preferred her to his Queen *Clytemnestra*, &c. the imprudence of which confession, Madam *Dacier* herself has elsewhere animadverted upon. Mr. *Dryden*, in his translation of this book, has been juster to the royal passion of *Agamemnon*, though he has carried the point so much on the other side, as to make him promise a greater fondness for her in her old age than in her youth, which indeed is hardly credible.

Mine she shall be, till creeping age and time
 Her bloom have wither'd, and destroy'd her prime;
 Till then my nuptial bed she shall attend,
 And having first adorn'd it, late ascend.
 This for the night; by day the web and loom,
 And homely household tasks shall be her doom.

Nothing could have made Mr. *Dryden* capable of this mistake, but extreme haste in writing; which never ought to be imputed as a fault to him, but to those who suffered so noble a genius to lie under the necessity of it.

§. 47. *The trembling priest.*] We may take notice here, once for all, that *Homer* is frequently eloquent in his very

Disconsolate, not daring to complain,
 Silent he wander'd by the sounding main : 50
 Till, safe at distance, to his God he prays,
 The God who darts around the world his rays.

O *Smintheus* ! sprung from fair *Latona*'s line,
 Thou guardian pow'r of *Cilla* the divine, 55
 Thou source of light ! whom *Tenedos* adores,
 And whose bright presence gilds thy *Chrysa*'s
 shores :

If e'er with wreaths I hung thy sacred fane,
 Or fed the flames with fat of oxen slain ;
 God of the silver bow ! thy shafts employ,
 Avenge thy servant, and the *Greeks* destroy. 60

Thus *Chryses* pray'd : The fav'ring Pow'r
 attends,

And from *Olympus*' lofty tops descends.

silence. *Chryses* says not a word in answer to the Insults of *Agamemnon*, but walks pensively along the shore : and the melancholy flowing of the verse admirably expresses the condition of the mournful and deserted father.

Βῆ δ' ἄκων παρὰ Σινὸν πολυφλοίσκου Σαδάσσου.

γ. 61. *The fav'ring Pow'r attends.*] Upon this first prayer in the poem, *Eustathius* takes occasion to observe, that the poet is careful throughout his whole work to let no prayer ever fall intirely which has justice on its side ; but he who

Bent was his bow, the *Grecian* hearts to wound;
 Fierce as he mov'd, his silver shafts resound.
 Breathing revenge, a sudden night he spread, 65
 And gloomy darkness roll'd about his head.
 The fleet in view, he twang'd his deadly bow,
 And hissing fly the feather'd fates below.
 On mules and dogs th' infection first began;
 And last, the vengeful arrows fix'd in man. 70

prays, either kills his enemy, or has signs given him that he has been heard, or his friends return, or his undertaking succeeds, or some other visible good happens. So far instructive and useful to life has *Homer* made his fable.

γ. 67. *He twang'd his deadly bow.*] In the tenth year of the siege of *Troy*, a plague happened in the *Grecian* camp, occasioned perhaps by immoderate heats and gross exhalations. At the introduction of this accident *Homer* begins his Poem, and takes occasion from it to open the scene of action with a most beautiful allegory. He supposes that such afflictions are sent from Heaven for the punishment of our evil actions; and because the Sun was a principal Instrument of it, he says it was sent to punish *Agamemnon* for despising that God, and injuring his Priest. *Eustathius*.

γ. 69. *Mules and dogs.*] *Hippocrates* observes two things of plagues; that their cause is in the air, and that different animals are differently touched by them, according to their nature or nourishment. This philosophy *Spondanus* refers to the plague here mentioned. First, the cause is in the air, by reason of the darts or beams of *Apollo*. Secondly, the mules and dogs are said to die sooner than the men; partly because they have by nature a quickness of smell, which makes the infection sooner perceivable; and partly by the nourishment they

For nine long nights, thro' all the dusky air
 The *Pyres* thick-flaming shot a dismal glare.
 But e'er the tenth revolving day was run,
 Inspir'd by *Juno*, *Thetis'* god-like son
 Conven'd to council all the *Grecian* train ; 75
 For much the Goddess mourn'd her Heroes slain.

Th' assembly seated, rising o'er the rest,
Achilles thus the King of men address :

take, their feeding on the earth with prone heads making the exhalation more easy to be sucked in with it. Thus has *Hippocrates*, so long after *Homer* writ, subscribed to his knowledge in the rise and progress of this distemper. There have been some who have referred this passage to a religious sense, making the death of the mules and dogs before the men to point out a kind of method of providence, in punishing, whereby it sends some previous afflictions to warn mankind, so as to make them shun the greater evils by repentance. This *Monsieur Dacier*, in his notes on *Aristotle's* art of poetry, calls a Remark perfectly fine and agreeable to God's method of sending plagues on the *Egyptians*, where first horses, asses, &c. were smitten, and afterwards the men themselves.

§. 74. *Thetis' god-like son Convenes a council.*] On the tenth day a council is held to inquire why the Gods were angry? *Plutarch* observes, how justly he applies the characters of his persons to the incidents ; not making *Agamemnon* but *Achilles* call this council, who of all the Kings was most capable of making observations upon the plague, and of foreseeing its duration, as having been bred by *Chiron* to the study of Physick. One may mention also a remark of *Eustathius* in pursuance to this, that *Juno's* advising him in this case might allude to his knowledge of an evil temperament in the air, of which she was Goddess.

Why leave we not the fatal *Trojan* shore,
And measure back the seas we crost before? 80
The plague destroying whom the sword would
spare,

'Tis time to save the few remains of war.
But let some Prophet, or some sacred Sage,
Explore the cause of great *Apollo's* rage;
Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove, 85
By mystic dreams, for dreams descend from *Jove*.

§. 79. *Why leave we not the fatal Trojan shore, &c.*] The artifice of this speech (according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, in his second discourse, *περὶ ἰσχυρισμῶν*) is admirably carried on to open an accusation against *Agamemnon*, whom *Achilles* suspects to be the cause of all their miseries. He directs himself not to the assembly, but to *Agamemnon*; he names not only the plague but the war too, as having exhausted them all, which was evidently due to his family. He leads the *Augurs* he would consult, by pointing at something lately done with respect to *Apollo*. And while he continues within the guard of civil expression, scattering his insinuations, he encourages those who may have more knowledge to speak out boldly, by letting them see there is a party made for their safety; which has its effect immediately in the following speech of *Chalcas*, whose demand of protection shows upon whom the offence is to be placed.

§. 86. *By mystic dreams.*] It does not seem that by the word *ὀνειρόπολος* an interpreter of dreams is meant, for we have no hint of any preceding dream which wants to be interpreted. We may therefore more probably refer it to such who used (after performing proper rites) to lie down at some sacred place and expect a dream from the Gods upon any particular

If broken vows this heavy curse have laid,
 Let altars smoke, and hecatombs be paid.
 So Heav'n aton'd shall dying Greece restore,
 And *Phæbus* dart his burning shafts no more. 90

He said, and sat : when *Chalcas* thus reply'd :
Chalcas the wise, the Grecian priest and guide,
 That sacred Seer, whose comprehensive view
 The past, the present, and the future knew :
 Uprising slow, the venerable Sage 95
 Thus spoke the prudence and the fears of age.

subject which they desired. That this was a practice among them, appears from the Temples of *Amphiaraus* in *Bæotia* and *Podalirius* in *Apulia*, where the inquirer was obliged to sleep at the altar upon the skin of the beast he had sacrificed, in order to obtain an answer. It is in this manner that *Latinus* in *Virgil's* seventh book goes to dream in the temple of *Faunus*, where we have a particular description of the whole custom. *Strabo*, lib. xvi. has spoken concerning the Temple of *Jerusalem* as a place of this nature; "where (says he) the people either dreamed for themselves, or procured some good dreamer to do it." By which it should seem he had read something concerning the visions of their Prophets, as that which *Samuel* had when he was ordered to sleep a third time before the ark, and upon doing so had an account of the destruction of *Eli's* house; or that which happened to *Solomon*, after having sacrificed before the ark at *Gibeon*. The same author has also mentioned the Temple of *Serapis* in his seventeenth book, as a place for receiving oracles by dreams.

Belov'd of *Jove*, *Achilles*! would'st thou know
 Why angry *Phæbus* bends his fatal bow?
 First give thy faith, and plight a Prince's word
 Of sure protection, by thy pow'r and sword. 100
 For I must speak what wisdom would conceal,
 And truths, invidious to the Great, reveal.
 Bold is the task, when subjects grown too wise,
 Instruct a Monarch where his error lies;
 For tho' we deem the short-liv'd fury past, 105
 'Tis sure, the Mighty will revenge at last.

To whom *Pelides*. From thy inmost soul
 Speak what thou know'st, and speak without
 controul.

Ev'n by that God I swear, who rules the day,
 To whom thy hands the Vows of *Greece* convey, 110

§. 97. *Belov'd of Jove, Achilles*!] These appellations of praise and honour, with which the Heroes in *Homer* so frequently salute each other, were agreeable to the style of the ancient times, as appears from several of the like nature in the scripture. *Milton* has not been wanting to give his poem this cast of antiquity, throughout which our first parents almost always accost each other with some title, that expresses a respect to the dignity of human nature.

Daughter of God and Man, immortal *Eve* —
Adam, Earth's hallow'd mould of God inspir'd. —
 Offspring of heaven and earth, and all earth's Lord, &c.

And whose blest Oracles thy lips declare ;
 Long as *Achilles* breathes this vital air,
 No daring *Greek* of all the num'rous band,
 Against his Priest shall lift an impious hand :
 Not ev'n the Chief by whom our hosts are led, 115
 The King of Kings, shall touch that sacred head.

Encourag'd thus, the blameless man replies ;
 Nor vows unpaid, nor slighted sacrifice,
 But he, our Chief, provok'd the raging pest,
Apollo's vengeance for his injur'd Priest. 120

§. 115. *Not ev'n the Chief.*] After *Achilles* had brought in *Chalcas* by his dark doubts concerning *Agamemnon*, *Chalcas*, who perceived them, and was unwilling to be the first that named the King, artfully demands a protection in such a manner, as confirms those doubts, and extorts from *Achilles* this warm and particular expression, " That he would protect him even " against *Agamemnon*," (who, as he says, is now the greatest man of *Greece*, to hint that at the expiration of the war he should be again reduced to be barely King of *Mycæne*.) This place *Plutarch* takes notice of as the first in which *Achilles* shews his contempt of sovereign authority.

§. 117. *The blameless.*] The epithet ἀμύμων, or *blameless*, is frequent in *Homer*, but not always used with so much propriety as here. The reader may observe that care has not been wanting thro' this translation, to preserve those epithets which are peculiar to the author, whenever they receive any beauty from the circumstances about them ; as this of *blameless* manifestly does in the present passage. It is not only applied to a priest, but to one who being conscious of the truth, prepares with an honest boldness to discover it.

Nor will the God's awaken'd fury cease,
 But plagues shall spread, and fun'ral fires increase,
 'Till the great King, without a ransom paid,
 To her own *Cbrysa* send the black-ey'd maid.
 Perhaps, with added sacrifice and pray'r, 125
 The Priest may pardon, and the God may spare.

The Prophet spoke; when with a gloomy frown
 The Monarch started from his shining throne;
 Black choler fill'd his breast that boil'd with ire,
 And from his eye-balls flash'd the living fire. 130
 Augur accurst! denouncing mischief still,
 Prophet of plagues, for ever boding ill!

*. 131. *Augur accurst!*] This expression is not merely thrown out by chance, but proves what *Chalcas* said of the King when he asked protection, "That he harboured anger "in his Heart." For it aims at the prediction *Chalcas* had given at *Aulis* nine years before, for the sacrificing his daughter *Iphigenia*. *Spondanus*.

This, and the two following lines, are in a manner repetitions of the same thing thrice over. It is left to the reader to consider how far it may be allowed, or rather praised for a beauty, when we consider with *Eustathius* that it is a most natural effect of anger to be full of words, and insisting on that which galls us. We may add, that these reiterated expressions might be supposed to be thrown out one after another, as *Agamemnon* is struck in the confusion of his passion, first by the remembrance of one prophecy, and then of another, which the same man had uttered against him.

Still must that tongue some wounding message
bring,

And still thy priestly pride provoke thy King?

For this are *Phæbus*' Oracles explor'd, 135

To teach the *Greeks* to murmur at their Lord?

For this with falsehoods is my honour stain'd,

Is Heav'n offended, and a Priest profan'd;

Because my Prize, my beauteous maid I hold,

And heav'nly charms prefer to proffer'd gold? 140

A maid, unmatch'd in manners as in face,

Skill'd in each art, and crown'd with every grace.

Not half so dear were *Clytæmnestra*'s charms,

When first her blooming beauties blest my arms.

Yet if the Gods demand her, let her fail; 145

Our cares are only for the publick weal:

Let me be deem'd the hateful cause of all,

And suffer, rather than my people fall.

†. 143. *Not half so dear were Clytæmnestra's charms.*] *Agamemnon* having heard the charge which *Chalcas* drew up against him in two particulars, that he had affronted the Priest, and refused to restore his daughter; he offers one answer which gives softening colours to both, that he loved her as well as his Queen *Clytæmnestra* for her perfections. Thus he would seem to satisfy the father by kindness to his daughter, to excuse himself before the *Greeks* for what is past, and to make a merit of yielding her, and sacrificing his passion for their safety.

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

The prize, the beauteous prize, I will resign,
So dearly valu'd, and so justly mine. 150

But since for common good I yield the fair,

My private loss let grateful *Greece* repair ;

Nor unrewarded let your Prince complain,

That he alone has fought and bled in vain.

Insatiate King (*Achilles* thus replies) 155

Fond of the pow'r, but fonder of the prize !

§. 155. *Insatiate King.*] Here, where this passion of anger grows loud, it seems proper to prepare the reader, and prevent his mistake in the character of *Achilles*, which might shock him in several particulars following. We should know that the Poet rather studied nature than perfection, in the laying down his characters. He resolved to sing the consequences of anger ; he considered what virtues and vices would conduce most to bring his Moral out of the Fable ; and artfully disposed them in his chief persons after the manner in which we generally find them ; making the fault which most peculiarly attends any good quality, to reside with it. Thus he has placed pride with magnanimity in *Agamemnon*, and craft with prudence in *Ulysses*. And thus we must take his *Achilles*, not as a mere heroick dispassioned character, but as compounded of courage and anger ; one who finds himself almost invincible, and assumes an uncontrouled carriage upon the self-consciousness of his worth ; whose high strain of honour will not suffer him to betray his friends, or fight against them, even when he thinks they have affronted him ; but whose inexorable resentment will not let him hearken to any terms of accommodation. These are the lights and shades of his character, which *Homer* has heightened and darkened in extremes ;

Would'st thou the *Greeks* their lawful prey shou'd
yield,

The due reward of many a well-fought field ?

The spoils of cities raz'd, and warriors slain,

We share with justice, as with toil we gain : 160

But to resume whate'er thy av'rice craves,

(That trick of tyrants) may be borne by slaves.

Yet if our Chief for plunder only fight,

The spoils of *Ilion* shall thy loss requite,

Whene'er, by *Jove's* decree, our conqu'ring

pow'rs

165

Shall humble to the dust her lofty tow'rs.

Then thus the King. Shall I my prize resign

With tame content, and thou possessest of thine ?

because on the one side valour is the darling quality of, Epic Poetry ; and on the other, anger the particular subject of this Poem. When characters thus mixed are well conducted, though they be not morally beautiful quite through, they conduce more to the end, and are still poetically perfect.

Plutarch takes occasion from the observation of this conduct in *Homer*, to applaud his just imitation of nature and truth, in representing virtues and vices intermixed in his Heroes ; contrary to the paradoxes and strange positions of the Stoicks, who held that no vice could consist with virtue, nor the least virtue with vice. *Plut. de aud. Poetis.*

Great as thou art, and like a God in fight,
 Think not to rob me of a soldier's right. 170
 At thy demand shall I restore the maid?
 First let the just equivalent be paid;
 Such as a King might ask; and let it be
 A treasure worthy her, and worthy me.
 Or grant me this, or with a monarch's claim, 175
 This hand shall seize some other captive dame.

†. 169. *Great as thou art, and like a God in fight.*] The words in the original are θεοειδὲς Ἀχαιῶν. *Ulysses* is soon after called Δῖος, and others in other places. The phrase of *divine* or *god-like* is not used by the Poet to signify perfection in men, but applied to considerable persons upon account of some particular qualification or advantage, which they were possessed of far above the common standard of mankind. Thus it is ascribed to *Achilles* on account of his great valour, to *Ulysses* for his preheminance in wisdom; even to *Paris* for his exceeding beauty, and to *Clytemnestra* for several fair endowments.

†. 172. *First let the just equivalent.*] The reasoning in point of right between *Achilles* and *Agamemnon* seems to be this. *Achilles* pleads that *Agamemnon* could not seize upon any other man's captive without a new distribution, it being an invasion of private property. On the other hand, as *Agamemnon's* power was limited, how came it that all the *Grecian* Captains would submit to an illegal and arbitrary action? I think the legal pretence for his seizing *Briseïs* must have been founded upon that Law, whereby the Commander in chief had the power of taking what part of the prey he pleased for his own use: and he being obliged to restore what he had taken, it seemed but just that he should have a second choice.

The mighty *Ajax* shall his prize resign,
Ulysses' spoils, or ev'n thy own be mine.

The man who suffers, loudly may complain ;
And rage he may, but he shall rage in vain. 180

But this when time requires — It now remains

We launch a bark to plow the watry plains,

And waft the sacrifice to *Chrysa's* shores,

With chosen pilots, and with lab'ring oars.

Soon shall the fair the fable ship ascend, 185

And some deputed Prince the charge attend ;

This *Creta's* King, or *Ajax* shall fulfill,

Or wise *Ulysses* see perform'd our will ;

Or, if our royal pleasure shall ordain,

Achilles' self conduct her o'er the Main ; 190

Let fierce *Achilles*, dreadful in his rage,

The God propitiate, and the pest assuage.

At this, *Pelides* frowning stern, reply'd :

O tyrant, arm'd with insolence and pride !

Inglorious slave to int'rest, ever join'd 195

With fraud, unworthy of a royal mind !

What gen'rous *Greek*, obedient to thy word,

Shall form an ambush, or shall lift the sword ?

What cause have I to war at thy decree ?

The distant *Trojans* never injur'd me : 200

To *Phthia*'s realms no hostile troops they led,

Safe in her vales my warlike courfers fed ;

Far hence remov'd, the hoarse-reshounding main,

And walls of rocks, secure my native reign,

Whose fruitful soil luxuriant harvests grace, 205

Rich in her fruits, and in her martial race.

Hither we sail'd, a voluntary throng,

T'avenge a private, not a publick wrong :

What else to *Troy* th' assembled nations draws,

But thine, ungrateful, and thy brother's cause ? 210

Is this the pay our blood and toils deserve ;

Disgrac'd and injur'd by the man we serve ?

And dar'st thou threat to snatch my prize away,

Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day ?

ψ. 213. *And dar'st thou threat to snatch my prize away,
Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day ?*]

The anger of these two Princes was equally upon the account of women, but yet it is observable that they are conducted with a different air. *Agamemnon* appears as a lover, *Achilles* as a warrior : the one speaks of *Chryseis* as a beauty whom he valued equal to his wife, and whose merit was too considerable to be easily resigned ; the other treats *Briseis* as a slave, whom he is concerned to preserve in point of honour, and as a testi-

A prize as small, O tyrant! match'd with thine, 215
As thy own actions if compar'd to mine.

Thine in each conquest is the wealthy prey,
Tho' mine the sweat and danger of the day.

Some trivial present to my ships I bear,
Or barren praises pay the wounds of war. 220

But know, proud monarch, I'm thy slave no more;
My fleet shall waft me to *Thessalia's* shore.

Left by *Achilles* on the *Trojan* plain,
What spoils, what conquests shall *Atrides* gain?

To this the King: Fly, mighty warrior!

fly, 225

Thy aid we need not, and thy threats defy.

mony of his glory. Hence it is that we never hear him mention her but as his *Spoil*, the *Reward of War*, the *Gift* the Grecians gave him, or the like expressions: and accordingly he yields her up, not in grief for a mistress whom he loses, but in sullenness for an injury that is done him. This observation is *Madam Dacier's*, and will often appear just as we proceed farther. Nothing is finer than the Moral shown us in this quarrel, of the blindness and partiality of mankind to their own faults: the *Grecians* make a war to recover a woman that was ravished, and are in danger to fail in the attempt by a dispute about another. *Agamemnon* while he is revenging a rape, commits one; and *Achilles* while he is in the utmost fury himself, reproaches *Agamemnon* for his passionate temper.

ψ. 225. *Fly, mighty warrior.*] *Achilles* having threatened to leave them in the former speech, and spoken of his warlike

There want not chiefs in such a cause to fight,
 And Jove himself shall guard a monarch's right.
 Of all the Kings (the Gods distinguish'd care)
 To pow'r superiour none such hatred bear : 230
 Strife and debate thy restless soul employ,
 And wars and horrors are thy savage joy.
 If thou hast strength, 'twas Heaven that strength
 bestow'd,

For know, vain man ! thy valour is from God.
 Haste, launch thy vessels, fly with speed away, 235
 Rule thy own realms with arbitrary sway :
 I heed thee not, but prize at equal rate
 Thy short-liv'd friendship, and thy groundless hate.
 Go, threat thy earth-born *Myrmidons* ; but here
 'Tis mine to threaten, Prince, and thine to
 fear. 240

actions ; the Poet here puts an artful piece of spite into the mouth of *Agamemnon*, making him opprobriously brand his retreat as a flight, and lessen the appearance of his courage, by calling it the love of contention and slaughter.

§. 229. *Kings, the Gods distinguish'd care.*] In the original it is *Διὸς φῶς*, or *nurſt by Jove*. *Homer* often uses to call his Kings by such epithets as *Διὸς υἱός*, *born of the Gods*, or *Διὸς παῖς*, *bred by the Gods* ; by which he points out to themselves, the offices they were ordained for ; and to their people, the re-

Know, if the God the beauteous dame demand,
My bark shall waft her to her native land ;

But then prepare, imperious Prince ! prepare,
Fierce as thou art, to yield thy captive fair :

Ev'n in thy tent I'll seize the blooming prize, 245

Thy lov'd *Briseis* with the radiant eyes.

Hence shalt thou prove my might, and curse the
hour,

Thou stood'st a rival of imperial pow'r ;

And hence to all our host it shall be known,

That Kings are subject to the Gods alone. 250

Achilles heard, with grief and rage oppress'd,
His heart swell'd high, and labour'd in his breast.

Distracting thoughts by turns his bosom rul'd,

Now fir'd by wrath, and now by reason cool'd :

That prompts his hand to draw the deadly
sword, 255

Force thro' the *Greeks*, and pierce their haughty

Lord ;

verence that should be paid them. These expressions are perfectly in the exalted style of the eastern nations, and correspondent to those places of holy scripture where they are called *Gods*, and *the Sons of the most High*.

This whispers soft, his vengeance to controul,
 And calm the rising tempest of his soul.
 Just as in anguish of suspense he stay'd,
 While half unsheath'd appear'd the glitt'ring
 blade,

260

Minerva swift descended from above,
 Sent by the * sister and the wife of *Jove*;

‡. 261. *Minerva swift descended from above.*] *Homer* having by degrees raised *Achilles* to such a pitch of fury, as to make him capable of attempting *Agamemnon's* life in the council, *Pallas* the Goddess of Wisdom descends, and being seen only by him, pulls him back in the very instant of execution. He parleys with her a while, as imagining she would advise him to proceed; but upon the promise of such a time wherein there should be a full reparation of his honour, he sheaths his sword in obedience to her. She ascends to Heaven, and he being left to himself, falls again upon his General with bitter expressions. The *allegory* here may be allowed by every reader to be unforced: the prudence of *Achilles* checks him in the rashest moment of his anger, it works upon him unseen to others, but does not entirely prevail upon him to desist till he remembers his own importance, and depends upon it that there will be a necessity of their courting him at any expence into the alliance again. Having persuaded himself by such reflections, he forbears to attack his General; but thinking that he sacrifices enough to *prudence* by this forbearance, lets the thoughts of *it* vanish from him; and no sooner is wisdom gone, but he falls into more violent reproaches for the gratification of his passion. All this is a most beautiful passage, whose Moral is evident, and generally agreed on by the Commentators.

* *Juno.*

(For both the Princes claim'd her equal care)

Behind she stood, and by the golden hair

Achilles seiz'd ; to him alone confest ; 265

A fable cloud conceal'd her from the rest.

He sees, and sudden to the Goddess cries,

Known by the flames that sparkle from her eyes.

Descends *Minerva* in her guardian care,

A heav'nly witness of the wrongs I bear 270

†. 268. *Known by the flames that sparkle from her eyes.*] They who carry on this allegory after the most minute manner, refer this to the eyes of *Achilles*, as indeed we must, if we entirely destroy the bodily appearance of *Minerva*. But what Poet designing to have his Moral so open, would take pains to form it into a Fable? In the proper mythological sense, this passage should be referred to *Minerva*; according to an opinion of the ancients, who supposed that the Gods had a peculiar light in their eyes. That *Homer* was not ignorant of this opinion, appears from his use of it in other places, as when in the third *Iliad* *Helena* by this means discovers *Venus*: and that he meant it here, is particularly asserted by *Heliodorus*, in the third book of his *Æthiopick* history. “The
“ Gods, says he, are known in their apparitions to men by
“ the fixed glare of their eyes, or their gliding passage through
“ air without moving their feet; these marks *Homer* has used
“ from his knowledge of the *Ægyptian* learning, applying one
“ to *Pallas*, and the other to *Neptune*.” Madam *Dacier* has gone into the contrary opinion, and blames *Eusebius* and others, without overthrowing these authorities, or assigning any other reason, but that it was not proper for *Minerva*'s eyes to *sparkle*, when her speech was *mild*.

From *Atreus* son ? Then let those eyes that view
The daring crime, behold the vengeance too.

Forbear ! (the progeny of *Jove* replies)
To calm thy fury I forsake the skies :
Let great *Achilles*, to the Gods resign'd, 275
To reason yield the empire o'er his mind.
By awful *Juno* this command is giv'n ;
The King and you are both the care of Heav'n.
The force of keen reproaches let him feel,
But sheath, obedient, thy revenging steel. 280
For I pronounce (and trust a heav'nly pow'r)
Thy injur'd honour has its fated hour,
When the proud monarch shall thy arms implore,
And bribe thy friendship with a boundless store.
Then let revenge no longer bear the sway, 285
Command thy passions, and the Gods obey.

To her *Pelides*. With regardful ear
'Tis just, O Goddess ! I thy dictates hear.
Hard as it is, my vengeance I suppress :
Those who revere the Gods, the Gods will bless. 290
He said, observant of the blue-ey'd maid ;
Then in the sheath return'd the shining blade.

The Goddess swift to high *Olympus* flies,
And joins the sacred senate of the skies.

Nor yet the rage his boiling breast forsook, 295
Which thus redoubling on *Atrides* broke.

O monster ! mix'd of insolence and fear,
Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer !

When wert thou known in ambush'd fights to dare,
Or nobly face the horrid front of war ? 300

†. 298. *Thou dog in forehead.*] It has been one of the objections against the manners of *Homer's* Heroes, that they are abusive. *Monf. de la Motte* affirms in his discourse upon the *Iliad*, that great men differ from the vulgar in their manner of expressing their passion ; but certainly in violent passions (such as those of *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*) the Great are as subject as any others to these sallies ; of which we have frequent examples both from history and experience. *Plutarch*, taking notice of this line, gives it as a particular commendation of *Homer*, that “ he constantly affords us a fine lecture of morality in his reprehensions and praises, by referring them “ not to the goods of fortune or the body, but those of the “ mind, which are in our power, and for which we are blameable or praise-worthy. Thus, says he, *Agamemnon* is reproached for impudence and fear, *Ajax* for vain bragging, “ *Idomeneus* for the love of contention, and *Ulysses* does not “ reprove even *Thersites* but as a babbler, though he had so “ many personal deformities to object to him. In like manner also the appellations and epithets with which they accost one another, are generally founded on some distinguishing qualification of merit, as *Wise Ulysses*, *Hector equal to Jove in Wisdom*, *Achilles chief Glory of the Greeks*,” and the like. *Plutarch of reading Poets*.

†. 299. *In ambush'd fights to dare.*] *Homer* has magnified the *ambush* as the boldest manner of fight. They went upon

'Tis ours, the chance of fighting fields to try,
 Thine to look on, and bid the Valiant die.
 So much 'tis safer thro' the camp to go,
 And rob a subject, than despoil a foe.
 Scourge of thy people, violent and base! 305
 Sent in *Jove's* anger on a slavish race,
 Who lost to sense of gen'rous freedom past,
 Are tam'd to wrongs, or this had been thy last.
 Now by this sacred sceptre, hear me swear,
 Which never more shall leaves or blossoms bear, 310

those parties with a few men only, and generally the most daring of the army, on occasions of the greatest hazard, where they were therefore more exposed than in a regular battle. Thus *Idomeneus* in the thirteenth book, expressly tells *Meriones*, that the greatest courage appears in this way of service, each man being in a manner singled out to the proof of it. *Eustathius*.

§. 309. *Now by this sacred sceptre.*] *Spondanus* in this place blames *Eustathius*, for saying that *Homer* makes *Achilles* in his passion swear by the first thing he meets with: and then assigns (as from himself) two causes, which the other had mentioned so plainly before, that it is a wonder they could be overlooked. The substance of the whole passage in *Eustathius*, is, that if we consider the sceptre simply as wood, *Achilles* after the manner of the ancients takes in his transport the first thing to swear by; but that *Homer* himself has in the process of the description assigned reasons why it is proper for the occasion, which may be seen by considering it symbolically. First, That as the wood being cut from the tree will never reunite and flourish, so neither should their amity ever flourish

Which sever'd from the trunk (as I from thee)

On the bare mountains left its parent tree ;

again, after they were divided by this contention. Secondly, That a sceptre being the mark of power, and symbol of justice, to swear by it might in effect be construed swearing by the God of Power, and by Justice itself ; and accordingly it is spoken of by *Aristotle*, 3. l. *Polit.* as a usual solemn oath of Kings.

I cannot leave this passage without shewing, in opposition to some moderns who have criticised upon it as tedious, that it has been esteemed a beauty by the ancients, and engaged them in its imitation. *Virgil* has almost transcribed it in his 12 *Æn.* for the sceptre of *Latinus*.

“ Ut sceptrum hoc (sceptrum dextrâ nam fortè gerebat)

“ Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras ;

“ Cùm semel in sylvis imo de stirpe recisum,

“ Matre caret, posuitque comas & brachia ferro :

“ Olim arbos, nunc artificis manus ære decoro

“ Inclusit, patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.”

But I cannot think this comes up to the spirit or propriety of *Homer*, notwithstanding the judgment of *Scaliger*, who decides for *Virgil*, upon a trivial comparison of the wording in each, l. 5. cap. 3. *Poet.* It fails in a greater point than any he has mentioned, which is, that being there used on occasion of a peace, it has no emblematical reference to division, and yet describes the cutting of the wood and its incapacity to bloom and branch again, in as many words as *Homer*. It is borrowed by *Valerius Flaccus* in his third book, where he makes *Jason* swear as a warrior by his spear,

“ Hanc ego magnanimi spoliū Didymaonis hastam,

“ Ut semel est avulsa jugis à matre precepta,

“ Quæ neque jam frondes virides neque proferet umbras,

“ Fida ministeria & duras obit horrida pugnas,

“ Testor.”

This sceptre, form'd by temper'd steel to prove
An ensign of the delegates of *Jove*.

From whom the pow'r of laws and justice
springs : 315

(Tremendous oath ! inviolate to Kings)

By this I swear, when bleeding *Greece* again
Shall call *Achilles*, she shall call in vain.

When flush'd with slaughter, *Hector* comes to
spread

The purpled shore with mountains of the dead, 320

Then shalt thou mourn th' affront thy madness
gave,

Forc'd to deplore, when impotent to save ;

Then rage in bitterness of soul, to know

This act has made the bravest *Greek* thy foe.

And indeed, however he may here borrow some expressions from *Virgil*, or fall below him in others, he has nevertheless kept to *Homer* in the emblem, by introducing the oath upon *Jason's* grief for failing to *Colchis* without *Hercules*, when he had separated him from the body of the *Argonauts* to search after *Hylas*. To render the beauty of this passage more manifest, the allusion is inserted (but with the fewest words possible) in this translation,

§. 324. *Thy rashness made the bravest Greek thy foe.*] If self-praise had not been agreeable to the haughty nature of *Achilles*, yet *Plutarch* has mentioned a case, and with respect

He spoke; and furious hurl'd against the
ground 325

His Sceptre starr'd with golden studs around.
Then sternly silent sat. With like disdain,
The raging King return'd his frowns again.

To calm their passion with the words of age,
Slow from his seat arose the *Pylian* sage, 330
Experienc'd *Nestor*, in persuasion skill'd,
Words, sweet as honey, from his lips distill'd;
Two generations now had past away,
Wife by his rules, and happy by his sway;

to him, wherein it is allowable. He says that *Achilles* has at other times ascribed his success to *Jupiter*, but it is permitted to a man of merit and figure who is injuriously dealt with, to speak frankly of himself to those who are forgetful and unthankful.

†. 333: *Two generations.*] The Commentators make not *Nestor* to have lived three hundred years (according to *Ovid's* opinion;) they take the word γυνή not to signify a century or age of the world; but a generation, or compass of time in which one set of men flourish, which in the common computation is thirty years; and accordingly is here translated as much the more probable.

From what *Nestor* says in this speech, *Madam Dacier* computes the age he was of at the end of the *Trojan* war. The fight of the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* fell out fifty-five or fifty-six years before the war of *Troy*: the quarrel of *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* happened in the tenth and last year of that war. It was then sixty-five or sixty-six years since *Nestor* fought against

Two ages o'er his native realm he reign'd, 335

And now th' example of the third remain'd.

All view'd with awe the venerable man ;

Who thus with mild benevolence began :

What shame, what woe is this to *Greece* !

what joy

To *Troy's* proud monarch, and the friends of

Troy !

340

the *Centaurs* ; he was capable at that time of giving counsel ; so that one cannot imagine him to have been under twenty : from whence it will appear that he was now almost arrived to the conclusion of his third age, and about fourscore and five, or fourscore and six years of age.

γ. 339. *What shame.*] The quarrel having risen to its highest extravagance, *Nestor* the wisest and most aged *Greek* is raised to quiet the Princes, whose speech is therefore framed entirely with an opposite air to all which has been hitherto said, sedate and inoffensive. He begins with a soft affectionate complaint, which he opposes to their threats and haughty language ; he reconciles their attention in an awful manner, by putting them in mind that they hear one whom their fathers and the greatest Heroes had heard with deference. He sides with neither, that he might not anger any one, while he advises them to the proper methods of reconciliation ; and he appears to side with both while he praises each, that they may be induced by the recollection of one another's worth to return to that amity which would bring success to the cause. It was not however consistent with the plan of the poem, that they should entirely be appeased, for then the anger would be at an end, which was proposed as the subject of the poem. *Homer* has not therefore made this speech to have its full

That adverse Gods commit to stern debate
 The best, the bravest of the Grecian state.
 Young as ye are, this youthful heat restrain,
 Nor think your *Nestor's* years and wisdom vain,
 A Godlike race of Heroes once I knew, 345
 Such, as no more these aged eyes shall view!
 Lives there a chief to match *Pirithous'* fame,
Dryas the bold, or *Ceneus'* deathless name;
Theseus, endu'd with more than mortal might,
 Or *Polyphemus*, like the Gods in fight? 350
 With these of old to toils of battle bred,
 In early youth my hardy days I led;

success; and yet that the eloquence of his *Nestor* might not be thrown out of character by its proving unavailable, he takes care that the violence with which the dispute was managed should abate immediately upon his speaking; *Agamemnon* confesses that all he spoke was right, *Achilles* promises not to fight for *Briseis* if she should be sent for, and the council dissolves.

It is to be observed that this character of authority and wisdom in *Nestor*, is every where admirably used by *Homer*, and made to exert itself through all the great emergencies of the poem. As he quiets the Princes here, he proposes that expedient which reduces the army into their order after the Sedition in the second book. When the *Greeks* are in the utmost distresses, 'tis he who advises the building the fortification before the fleet, which is the chief means of preserving them. And it is by his persuasion that *Patroclus* puts on the armour of *Achilles*, which occasions the return of that Hero, and the conquest of *Troy*.

Fir'd with the thirst which virtuous envy breeds,
And smit with love of honourable deeds.

Strongest of men, they pierc'd the mountain boar,
Rang'd the wild deserts red with monsters
gore, 356

And from their hills the shaggy *Centaurs* tore.

Yet these with soft, persuasive arts I sway'd;

When *Nestor* spoke, they listen'd and obey'd.

If in my youth, ev'n these esteem'd me wise; 360

Do you, young warriors, hear my age advise.

Atrides seize not on the beauteous slave;

That prize the *Greeks* by common suffrage gave:

Nor thou, *Achilles*, treat our Prince with pride;

Let Kings be just, and sov'reign power preside.

Thee, the first honours of the war adorn, 366

Like Gods in strength, and of a Goddess born;

Him, awful majesty exalts above

The pow'rs of earth, and scepter'd sons of *Jove*.

Let both unite with well-consenting mind, 370

So shall authority with strength be join'd.

Leave me, O King! to calm *Achilles'* rage;

Rule thou thyself, as more advanc'd in age.

Forbid it Gods! *Achilles* should be lost,
 The pride of *Greece*, and bulwark of our
 host. 375

This said, he ceas'd: the King of men replies:
 Thy years are awful, and thy words are wise.
 But that imperious, that unconquer'd soul,
 No laws can limit, no respect controul.
 Before his pride must his superiours fall, 380
 His word the law, and he the Lord of all?
 Him must our hosts, our chiefs, ourself obey?
 What King can bear a rival in his sway?
 Grant that the Gods his matchless force have
 giv'n;

Has foul reproach a privilege from heav'n? 385

Here on the Monarch's speech *Achilles* broke,
 And furious, thus, and interrupting spoke.
 Tyrant, I well deserv'd thy galling chain,
 To live thy slave, and still to serve in vain;
 Should I submit to each unjust decree: 390
 Command thy vassals, but command not me.
 Seize on *Briseïs*, whom the *Grecians* doom'd
 My prize of war, yet tamely see resum'd;

And seize secure; no more *Achilles* draws
 His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause. 395
 The Gods command me to forgive the past;
 But let this first invasion be the last:
 For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'st
 invade,

Shall stream in vengeance on my reeking blade.

At this they ceas'd; the stern debate expir'd: 400
 The chiefs in fullen majesty retir'd.

Achilles with *Patroclus* took his way,
 Where near his tents his hollow vessels lay.

‡. 394. — — — *No more Achilles draws
 His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause.*]

When *Achilles* promises not to contest for *Briseïs*, he expresses it in a sharp despising air, *I will not fight for the sake of a woman*: by which he glances at *Helena*, and casts an oblique reflection upon those commanders whom he is about to leave at the siege for her cause. One may observe how well it is fancied of the Poet, to make one woman the ground of a quarrel which breaks an alliance that was only formed upon account of another: and how much the circumstance thus considered contributes to keep up the anger of *Achilles*, for carrying on the Poem beyond this dissolution of the council. For (as he himself argues with *Ulysses* in the ixth *Iliad*) it is as reasonable for him to retain his anger upon the account of *Briseïs*, as for the brothers with all *Greece* to carry on a war upon the score of *Helena*. I do not know that any commentator has taken notice of this sarcasm of *Achilles*, which I think a very obvious one,

Mean time *Atrides* launch'd with num'rous
oars

A well-rigg'd ship for *Chrysa*'s sacred shores: 405

High on the deck was fair *Chryseis* plac'd,

And sage *Ulysses* with the conduct grac'd:

Safe in her sides the hecatomb they stow'd,

Then swiftly sailing, cut the liquid road.

The host to expiate, next the King prepares, 410

With pure lustrations, and with solemn pray'rs.

Wash'd by the briny wave, the pious train

Are cleans'd; and cast th' ablutions in the main.

Along the shore whole hecatombs were laid,

And bulls and goats to *Phæbus*' altars paid. 415

The fable fumes in curling spires arise,

And waft their grateful odours to the skies.

γ. 413. *Th' ablutions.*] All our former *English* translations seem to have erred in the sense of this line, the word *λούματα* being differently rendered by them, *offals*, or *entrails*, or *purgaments*, or *ordures*, a gross sett of ideas, of which *Homer* is not guilty. The word comes from *λύνω*, *eluo*, the same verb from whence *ἠπιδυμαινόντο*, which precedes in the line, is derived. So that the sense appears to be as it is rendered here, [*They washed, and threw away their washings.*] Perhaps this lustration might be used as a physical remedy in cleansing them from the infection of the plague; as *Pausanias* tells us it was by the *Arcadians*, from whence he says the plague was called *λύμη* by the *Greeks*.

The army thus in sacred rites engag'd,
Atrides still with deep resentment rag'd.
 To wait his will two sacred heralds stood, 420
Talthybius and *Eurybat*, the good.
 Haste to the fierce *Achilles*' tent (he cries)
 Thence bear *Briseïs* as our royal prize :
 Submit he must ; or if they will not part,
 Ourself in arms shall tear her from his heart. 425
 Th'unwilling heralds act their lord's commands ;
 Pensive they walk along the barren sands :
 Arriv'd, the Hero in his tent they find,
 With gloomy aspect, on his arm reclin'd.
 At awful distance long they silent stand, 430
 Loth to advance, or speak their hard command ;

†. 430. *At awful distance silent.*] There was required a very remarkable management to preserve all the characters which are concerned in this nice conjecture, wherein the heralds were to obey at their peril ; *Agamemnon* was to be gratified by an insult on *Achilles* ; and *Achilles* was to suffer so as might become his pride, and not have his violent temper provoked. From all this the Poet has found the secret to extricate himself, by only taking care to make his heralds stand in sight, and silent. Thus they neither make *Agamemnon*'s majesty suffer by uttering their message submissively, nor occasion a rough treatment from *Achilles* by demanding *Briseïs* in the peremptory air he ordered ; and at the same time *Achilles* is gratified with the opportunity of giving her up, as if he rather

Decent confusion ! This the Godlike man
Perceiv'd, and thus with accent mild began.

With leave and honour enter our abodes,
Ye sacred ministers of men and Gods ! 435

I know your message ; by constraint you came ;
Not you, but your imperious lord I blame.

Patroclus haste, the fair *Briseïs* bring ;
Conduct my captive to the haughty King.

But witness, heralds, and proclaim my vow, 440
Witness to Gods above, and men below !

But first, and loudest, to your Prince declare,
That lawless tyrant whose commands you bear ;
Unmov'd as death *Achilles* shall remain,

Tho' prostrate *Greece* should bleed at ev'ry vein :
The raging Chief in frantick passion lost, 446

Blind to himself, and useless to his host,

Unskill'd to judge the future by the past,

In blood and slaughter shall repent at last.

Patroclus now th' unwilling beauty brought ;
She, in soft sorrows, and in pensive thought, 451

sent her than was forced to relinquish her. The art of this
has been taken notice of by *Eustathius*.

ŷ. 451. *She, in soft sorrows.*] The behaviour of *Briseïs* in
her departure is no less beautifully imagined than the former.

Past silent, as the heralds held her hand,
 And oft look'd back, slow-moving o'er the strand.
 Not so his loss the fierce *Achilles* bore;
 But sad retiring to the sounding shore, 455
 O'er the wild margin of the deep he hung,
 That kindred deep, from whence his mother
 sprung:
 There, bath'd in tears of anger and disdain,
 Thus loud lamented to the stormy main.

A *French* or *Italian* Poet had lavished all his wit and passion in two long speeches on this occasion, which the heralds must have wept to hear; instead of which, *Homer* gives us a fine picture of nature. We see *Briseis* passing unwillingly along, with a dejected air, melted in tenderness, and not able to utter a word: and in the lines immediately following, we have a *contraste* to this in the gloomy resentment of *Achilles*, who suddenly retires to the shore and vents his rage aloud to the seas. The variation of the numbers just in this place adds a great beauty to it, which has been endeavoured at in the translation.

†. 458. *There, bath'd in tears.*] *Eustathius* observes on this place that it is no weakness in Heroes to weep, but the very effect of humanity and proof of a generous temper; for which he offers several instances, and takes notice that if *Sophocles* would not let *Ajax* weep, it is because he is drawn rather as a madman than a hero. But this general observation is not all we can offer in excuse for the tears of *Achilles*: his are tears of anger and disdain (as I have ventured to call them in the translation) of which a great and fiery temper is more susceptible than any other; and even in this case *Homer* has taken care to preserve the high character, by making him re-

O parent Goddess! since in early bloom 460
 Thy son must fall, by too severe a doom;
 Sure, to so short a race of glory born,
 Great *Jove* in justice should this span adorn:
 Honour and fame at least the Thund'rer ow'd,
 And ill he pays the promise of a God; 465

tire to vent his tears out of sight. And we may add to these an observation of which *Madam Dacier* is fond. The reason why *Agamemnon* parts not in tears from *Chryseis*, as *Achilles* does from *Briseis*: the one parts willingly from his mistress; and because he does it for his people's safety, it becomes an honour to him: and the other is parted unwillingly, and because his General takes her by force, the action reflects a dishonour upon him.

†. 464. *The Thund'rer ow'd.*] This alludes to a story which *Achilles* tells the ambassadors of *Agamemnon*, *Il. ix.* That he had the choice of two fates: one less glorious at home, but blessed with a very long life; the other full of glory at *Troy*, but then he was never to return. The alternative being thus proposed to him (not from *Jupiter* but *Thetis* who revealed the decree) he chose the latter, which he looks upon as his due, since he gives away length of life for it: and accordingly when he complains to his mother of the disgrace he lies under, it is in this manner he makes a demand of honour.

Monf. de la Motte very judiciously observes, that but for this fore-knowledge of the certainty of his death at *Troy*, *Achilles's* character could have drawn but little esteem from the reader. A hero of a vicious mind, blest only with a superiority of strength, and invulnerable into the bargain, was not very proper to excite admiration; but *Homer* by this exquisite piece of art has made him the greatest of heroes, who is still pursuing glory in contempt of death, and even under that certainty generously devoting himself in every action.

If yon' proud monarch thus thy son defies,
Obscures my glories, and resumes my prize.

Far from the deep recesses of the main,
Where aged *Ocean* holds his wat'ry reign,
The Goddess-mother hear'd. The waves divide ;
And like a mist she rose above the tide ; 471
Beheld him mourning on the naked shores,
And thus the sorrows of his soul explores.

Why grieves my son ? Thy anguish let me share,
Reveal the cause, and trust a parent's care. 475

He deeply sighing said : To tell my woe,
Is but to mention what too well you know.
From *Thebè* sacred to *Apollo's* name,
(*Aëtion's* realm) our conqu'ring army came,

†. 478. *From Thebè.*] *Homer*, who opened his poem with the action which immediately brought on *Achilles's* anger, being now to give an account of the same thing again, takes his rise more backward in the story. Thus the reader is informed in what he should know, without having been delayed from entering upon the promised subject. This is the first attempt which we see made towards the poetical method of narration, which differs from the historical, in that it does not proceed always directly in the line of time, but sometimes relates things which have gone before, when a more proper opportunity demands it, to make the narration more informing or beautiful.

With treasure loaded and triumphant spoils, 480
 Whose just division crown'd the soldier's toils;
 But bright *Chryseïs*, heav'nly prize! was led
 By vote selected, to the Gen'ral's bed.

The priest of *Phæbus* sought by gifts to gain
 His beauteous daughter from the victor's
 chain; 485

The fleet he reach'd, and lowly bending down,
 Held forth the sceptre and the laurel crown,

The foregoing remark is in regard only to the first six lines of this speech. What follows is a rehearsal of the preceding action of the poem, almost in the same words he had used in the opening it; and is one of those faults which has with most justice been objected to our Author. It is not to be denied but the account must be tedious, of what the reader had been just before informed; and especially when we are given to understand it was no way necessary, by what *Achilles* says at the beginning, that *Thetis knew the whole story already*. As to repeating the same lines, a practice usual with *Homer*, it is not so excusable in this place as in those, where messages are delivered in the words they were received, or the like; it being unnatural to imagine, that the person whom the Poet introduces as actually speaking, should fall into the self-same words that are used in the narration by the Poet himself. Yet *Milton* was so great an admirer and imitator of our Author, as not to have scrupled even this kind of repetition. The passage is at the end of his tenth book, where *Adam* having declared he would prostrate himself before God in certain particular acts of humiliation, those acts are immediately after described by the Poet in the same words.

Entreating all : but chief implor'd for grace
 The Brother-Kings of *Atreus*' royal race :
 The gen'rous *Greeks* their joint consent declare, 490
 The priest to rev'ence, and release the fair ;
 Not so *Atrides* : He, with wonted pride,
 The fire insulted, and his gifts deny'd :
 Th' insulted fire (his God's peculiar care)
 To *Phæbus* pray'd, and *Phæbus* heard the
 pray'r : 495

A dreadful plague ensues ; th' avenging darts
 Intessant fly, and pierce the *Grecian* hearts.
 A prophet then, inspir'd by heav'n arose,
 And points the crime, and thence derives the
 woes :

Myself the first th' assembled chiefs incline 500
 T' avert the vengeance of the pow'r divine ;
 Then rising in his wrath, the monarch storm'd ;
 Incens'd he threaten'd, and his threats perform'd :
 The fair *Chryseïs* to her fire was sent,
 With offer'd gifts to make the God relent ; 505
 But now he seiz'd *Briséis*' heav'nly charms,
 And of my valour's prize defrauds my arms,

Defrauds the votes of all the *Grecian* train;
 And service, faith, and justice plead in vain.
 But Goddess! thou thy suppliant son attend, 510
 To high *Olympus*' shining court ascend,
 Urge all the ties to former service ow'd,
 And sue for vengeance to the thund'ring God.
 Oft hast thou triumph'd in the glorious boast,
 That thou stood'st forth of all th' æthereal
 host,

515

¶ 514. *Oft hast thou triumph'd,*] The persuasive which *Achilles* is here made to put into the mouth of *Thetis*, is most artfully contrived to suit the present exigency. You, says he, must intreat *Jupiter* to bring miseries on the *Greeks*, who are protected by *Juno*, *Neptune*, and *Minerva*: put him therefore in mind that those Deities were once his enemies, and adjure him by that service you did him when those very powers would have bound him, that he will now in his turn assist you against the endeavours they will oppose to my wishes. *Eustathius*.

As for the story itself, some have thought (with whom is *Madam Dacier*) that there was some imperfect tradition of the fall of the Angels for their rebellion, which the *Greeks* had received by commerce with *Ægypt*: and thus they account the rebellion of the Gods, the precipitation of *Vulcan* from heaven, and *Jove's* threatening the inferiour Gods with *Tartarus*, but as so many hints of scripture faintly imitated. But it seems not improbable that the wars of the Gods, described by the Poets, allude to the confusion of the elements before they were brought into their natural order. It is almost generally agreed that by *Jupiter* is meant the *Æther*, and by *Juno* the *Air*: the ancient Philosophers supposed the *Æther* to be ig-

When bold rebellion shook the realms above,
 Th' undaunted guard of cloud-compelling *Jove*.
 When the bright partner of his awful reign,
 The warlike maid, and monarch of the main,
 The Traitor-Gods, by mad ambition driv'n, 520
 Durst threat with chains th' omnipotence of
 heav'n.

Then call'd by thee, the monster *Titan* came,
 (Whom Gods *Briareus*, Men *Ægeon* name)
 Thro' wondring skies enormous stalk'd along;
 Not * he that shakes the solid earth so strong: 525

neous, and by its kind influence upon the *Air* to be the cause of all vegetation: therefore *Homer* says in the xivth *Iliad*, That upon *Jupiter's* embracing his wife, the earth put forth its plants. Perhaps by *Thetis's* assisting *Jupiter*, may be meant that the watry element subsiding and taking its natural place, put an end to this combat of the elements.

‡. 523. *Whom Gods Briareus, Men Ægeon name.*] This manner of making the Gods speak a language different from men (which is frequent in *Homer*) is a circumstance that as far as it widens the distinction between divine and human natures, so far might tend to heighten the reverence paid the Gods. But besides this, as the difference is thus told in Poetry, it is of use to the Poets themselves: for it appears like a kind of testimony of their inspiration, or their converse with the Gods, and thereby gives a majesty to their works,

* *Neptune.*

With giant-pride at *Jove's* high throne he stands,
And brandish'd round him all his hundred hands;
Th' affrighted Gods confess'd their awful lord,
They dropt the fetters, trembled and ador'd.
This, Goddess, this to his remembrance call, 530
Embrace his knees, at his tribunal fall;
Conjure him far to drive the *Grecian* train,
To hurl them headlong to their fleet and main,
To heap the shores with copious death, and bring
The *Greeks* to know the curse of such a King: 535
Let *Agamemnon* lift his haughty head
O'er all his wide dominion of the dead,
And mourn in blood, that e'er he durst disgrace
The boldest warrior of the *Grecian* race.

Unhappy son! (fair *Thetis* thus replies, 540
While tears celestial trickle from her eyes)
Why have I born thee with a mother's throes,
To fates averse, and nurs'd for future woes?
So short a space the light of heav'n to view!
So short a space! and fill'd with sorrow too! 545
O might a parent's careful wish prevail,
Far, far from *Ilion* should thy vessels fail,

And thou, from camps remote, the danger shun,
Which now, alas! too nearly threatens my son.
Yet (what I can) to move thy suit I'll go 550
To great *Olympus* crown'd with fleecy snow.
Mean time, secure within thy ships, from far
Behold the field, nor mingle in the war.
The fire of Gods and all th' æthereal train,
On the warm limits of the farthest main, 555
Now mix with mortals, nor disdain to grace
The feasts of *Æthiopia's* blameless race;

v. 557. *The feasts of Æthiopia's blameless race.*] The *Æthiopians*, says *Diodorus*, l. 3: are said to be the inventors of pomps, sacrifices, solemn meetings, and other honours paid to the Gods. From hence arose their character of piety, which is here celebrated by *Homer*. Among these there was an annual feast at *Diospolis*, which *Eustathius* mentions, wherein they carried about the statues of *Jupiter* and the other Gods, for twelve days, according to their number: to which if we add the ancient custom of setting meat before statues, it will appear a rite from which this fable might easily arise. But it would be a great mistake to imagine from this place, that *Homer* represents the Gods as eating and drinking upon earth: a gross notion he was never guilty of, as appears from these verses in the fifth book, v. 340.

Ἰχὼρ οἷός τις τι ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν;
Οὐ γὰρ σίτον ἰδεσ', ἢ πίνουσ' αἰθόπα οἶνον,
Τένει' ἀνάμεικτός ἐστι, καὶ ἀθάνατοι καθίσταται.

(For not the bread of man their life sustains,
Nor wine's inflaming juice supplies their veins.)

Twelve days the pow'rs indulge the genial rite,
Returning with the twelfth revolving light.

Then will I mount the brazen dome, and move 560
The high tribunal of immortal Jove.

The Goddess spoke: the rolling waves uncloſe;
Then down the deep ſhe plung'd from whence
ſhe roſe,

And left him ſorrowing on the lonely coaſt,
In wild reſentment for the fair he loſt. 565

In *Chryſa's* port now ſage *Ulyſſes* rode;
Beneath the deck the deſtin'd victims ſtow'd;
The ſails they furl'd, they laſh'd the maſt aſide,
And dropt their anchors, and the pinnacle ty'd.

Macrobius would have it, that by *Jupiter* here is meant the ſun, and that the number *twelve* hints at the twelve ſigns; but whatever may be ſaid in a critical defence of this opinion, I believe the reader will be ſatisfied that *Homer*, conſidered as a Poet, would have his machinery underſtood upon that ſyſtem of the Gods which is properly *Grecian*.

One may take notice here, that it were to be wiſhed ſome paſſage were found in any authentick author, that might tell us the time of the year when the *Æthiopians* kept this feſtival at *Diſſpolis*: for from thence one might determine the precise ſeaſon of the year wherein the actions of the *Iliad* are repreſented to have happened; and perhaps by that means farther explain the beauty and propriety of many paſſages in the poem.

Next on the shore their hecatomb they land, 570
Chryseis last descending on the strand.

Her, thus returning from the furrow'd main,
Ulysses led to *Phæbus*' sacred fane ;

Where at his solemn altar, as the maid
 He gave to *Chryses*, thus the Hero said. 575

Hail rev'rend priest ! to *Phæbus*' awful dome
 A suppliant I from great *Atrides* come :
 Unransom'd here receive the spotless fair ;
 Accept the hecatomb the *Greeks* prepare ;
 And may thy God who scatters darts around, 580
 Aton'd by sacrifice, desist to wound.

At this, the fire embrac'd the maid again,
 So sadly lost, so lately fought in vain.
 Then near the altar of the darting King,
 Dispos'd in rank their hecatomb they bring : 585
 With water purify their hands, and take
 The sacred off'ring of the salted cake ;
 While thus with arms devoutly rais'd in air,
 And solemn voice, the Priest directs his pray'r.

God of the silver bow, thy ear incline, 590
 Whose pow'r encircles *Cilla* the divine ;

Whose sacred eye thy *Tenedos* surveys,
 And gilds fair *Chrysa* with distinguish'd rays !
 If, fir'd to vengeance at thy priest's request,
 Thy direful darts inflict the raging pest ; 595
 Once more attend ! avert the wastful woe,
 And smile propitious, and unbend thy bow.

So *Chryses* pray'd, *Apollo* heard his pray'r :
 And now the *Greeks* their hecatomb prepare ;
 Between their horns the salted barley threw, 600
 And with their heads to heav'n the victims flew :

*. 600. *The sacrifice.*] If we consider this passage, it is not made to shine in poetry: all that can be done is to give it numbers, and endeavour to set the particulars in a distinct view. But if we take it in another light, and as a piece of learning, it is valuable for being the most exact account of the ancient sacrifices any where left us. There is first the purification, by washing of hands: secondly the offering up of prayers: thirdly the *Mola*, or barley-cake thrown upon the victim: fourthly the manner of killing it with the head turned upwards to the celestial Gods (as they turned it downwards when they offered to the infernals:) fifthly their selecting the thighs and fat for their Gods as the best of the sacrifice, and the disposing about them pieces cut from every part for a representation of the whole; (hence the thighs, or *μῆσα*, are frequently used in *Homer* and the *Greek* Poets for the whole victim:) sixthly the libation of wine: seventhly consuming the thighs in the fire of the altar: eighthly the sacrificers dressing and feasting on the rest, with joy and hymns to the Gods. Thus punctually have the ancient Poets, and in particular *Homer*, written with a care and respect to reli-

The limbs they sever from th' inclosing hide;
 The thighs, selected to the Gods, divide:
 On these, in double cawls involv'd with art,
 The choicest morsels lay from ev'ry part. 605
 The Priest himself before his altar stands,
 And burns the off'ring with his holy hands,
 Pours the black wine, and sees the flames aspire;
 The youth with instruments surround the fire:
 The thighs thus sacrific'd, and entrails drest, 610
 Th' assistants part, transfix, and roast the rest:
 Then spread the tables, the repast prepare,
 Each takes his seat, and each receives his share.
 When now the rage of hunger was repress'd,
 With pure libations they conclude the feast; 615

gion. One may question whether any country, as much a stranger to christianity as we are to heathenism, might be so well informed by our Poets in the worship belonging to any profession of religion at present.

I am obliged to take notice how entirely Mr. Dryden has mistaken the sense of this passage, and the custom of antiquity; for in his translation, the cakes are thrown into the fire instead of being cast on the victim; the sacrificers are made to eat the thighs and whatever belonged to the Gods; and no part of the victim is consumed for a burnt offering, so that in effect there is no sacrifice at all. Some of the mistakes (particularly that of *turning the roast meat on the spits*, which was not known in *Homer's* days) he was led into by *Chapman's* translation,

The youths with wine the copious goblets crown'd,
 And pleas'd, dispense the flowing bowls around.
 With hymns divine the joyous banquet ends,
 The *Pæans* lengthen'd till the fun descends:
 The *Greeks*, restor'd, the grateful notes pro-
 long; 620

Apollo listens, and approves the song.

'Twas night; the Chiefs beside their vessel lie,
 'Till rosy morn had purpled o'er the sky:
 Then launch, and hoise the mast; indulgent
 gales,

Supply'd by *Phæbus*, fill the swelling sails; 625
 The milk-white canvas bellying as they blow,
 The parted ocean foams and roars below:
 Above the bounding billows swift they flew,
 'Till now the *Grecian* camp appear'd in view.
 Far on the beach they haul their bark to land, 630
 (The crooked keel divides the yellow sand)
 Then part, where stretch'd along the winding bay
 The ships and tents in mingled prospect lay.

But raging still, amidst his navy fat
 The stern *Achilles*, stedfast in his hate; 635

Nor mix'd in combat, nor in council join'd ;
 But wasting cares lay heavy on his mind :
 In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,
 And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul.

Twelve days were past, and now the dawning
 light 640

The Gods had summon'd to th' *Olympian* height :
Jove first ascending from the wat'ry bow'rs,
 Leads the long order of æthereal pow'rs.
 When like the morning mist in early day,
 Rose from the flood the daughter of the sea ; 645
 And to the seats divine her flight address.

There, far apart, and high above the rest,
 The thund'rer sat ; where old *Olympus* shrouds
 His hundred heads in Heav'n, and props the clouds.
 Suppliant the Goddess stood : one hand she
 plac'd 650

Beneath his beard, and one his knees embrac'd.
 If e'er, O father of the Gods ! she said,
 My words could please thee, or my actions aid ;
 Some marks of honour on my son bestow,
 And pay in glory what in life you owe. 655

Fame is at least by heav'nly promise due
 To life so short, and now dishonour'd too.
 Avenge this wrong, oh ever just and wise!
 Let *Greece* be humbled, and the *Trojans* rise;
 'Till the proud King, and all th' *Achaian* race 660
 Shall heap with honours him they now disgrace.

Thus *Thetis* spoke, but *Jove* in silence held
 The sacred councils of his breast conceal'd.
 Not so repuls'd, the Goddess closer prest,
 Still grasp'd his knees, and urg'd the dear
 request. 665

O Sire of Gods and Men! thy suppliant hear,
 Refuse, or grant; for what has *Jove* to fear?
 Or oh! declare, of all the pow'rs above,
 Is wretched *Thetis* least the care of *Jove*?

She said, and sighing thus the God replies, 670
 Who rolls the thunder o'er the vaulted skies.

What hast thou ask'd? Ah why should *Jove*
 engage

In foreign contests and domestick rage,
 The Gods complaints, and *Juno's* fierce alarms,
 While I, too partial, aid the *Trojan* Arms? 675

Go, lest the haughty partner of my sway
 With jealous eyes thy close access survey;
 But part in peace, secure thy pray'r is sped:
 Witness the sacred honours of our head,
 The Nod that ratifies the will divine, 680
 The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable sign;
 This seals thy suit, and this fulfils thy vows —
 He spoke, and awful bends his fable brows;

ŷ. 681. *The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable sign.*] There are among men three things by which the efficacy of a promise may be void; the design not to perform it, the want of power to bring it to pass, and the instability of our tempers; from all which *Homer* saw that the divinity must be exempted, and therefore he describes the *nod*, or ratification of *Jupiter's* word, as *faithful*, in opposition to *fraud*; *sure* of being performed, in opposition to *weakness*, and *irrevocable*, in opposition to our *repenting* of a promise. *Eustathius*.

ŷ. 683. *He spoke, and awful bends.*] This description of the Majesty of *Jupiter* has something exceedingly grand and venerable. *Macrobius* reports, that *Phidias* having made his *Olympian Jupiter*, which past for one of the greatest miracles of art, was asked from what pattern he framed so divine a figure, and answered, it was from that archetype which he found in these lines of *Homer*. The same author has also taken notice of *Virgil's* imitating it, *l. 1.*

“Dixerat, idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
 “Per pice torrentes atrâque voragine ripas;
 “Annuit, & totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.”

Here indeed he has preserved the *nod* with its stupendous effect, the making the heavens tremble. But he has neglected

Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod;
 The stamp of fate, and sanction of the God: 685
 High Heav'n with trembling the dread signal took,
 And all *Olympus* to the centre shook.

Swift to the seas profound the Goddess flies,
Jove to his starry mansion in the skies.

The shining synod of th' immortals wait 690
 The coming God, and from their thrones of state
 Arising silent, wrapt in holy fear,
 Before the Majesty of Heav'n appear.

Trembling they stand, while *Jove* assumes the
 throne,

All, but the God's imperious Queen alone: 695

the description of the eye-brows and the hair; those chief pieces of imagery from whence the artist took the idea of a countenance proper for the King of Gods and Men.

Thus far *Macrobius*, whom *Scaliger* answers in this manner; *Aut ludunt Phidiam, aut nos ludit Phidias: Etiam sine Homero puto illum scisse, Jovem non carere superciliis & casarie.*

§. 694. *Jove assumes the throne.*] As *Homer* makes the first council of his men to be one continued scene of anger, whereby the *Grecian* chiefs became divided, so he makes the first meeting of the Gods to be spent in the same passion; whereby *Jupiter* is more fixed to assist the *Trojans*, and *Juno* more incensed against them. Thus the design of the poem goes on: the anger which began the book overspreads all existent beings by the latter end of it: heaven and earth become engaged in the subject, by which it rises to a great importance

Late had she view'd the silver-footed dame,
 And all her passions kindled into flame.
 Say, artful manager of heav'n (she cries)
 Who now partakes the secrets of the skies?

in the reader's eyes, and is hastened forward into the briskest scenes of action that can be framed upon that violent passion.

§. 698. *Say, artful manager.*] The Gods and Goddesses being described with all the desires and pleasures, the passions and humours of mankind, the commentators have taken a licence from thence to draw not only moral observations, but also *satirical reflections* out of this part of the Poet. These I am sorry to see fall so hard upon womankind, and all by *Juno's* means. Sometimes she procures them a *lesson* for their curiosity and unquietness, and at other times for their loud and vexatious tempers. *Juno* deserves them on the one hand, *Jupiter* thunders them out on the other, and the learned gentlemen are very particular in enlarging with remarks on both sides. In her first speech they make the Poet describe the inquisitive temper of womankind in general, and their restlessness if they are not admitted into every secret. In his answer to this, they trace those methods of grave remonstrance by which it is proper for husbands to calm them. In her reply, they find it is the nature of women to be more obstinate for being yielded to: and in his second return to her, they see the last method to be used with them upon failure of the first, which is the exercise of sovereign authority.

Mr. *Dryden* has translated all this with the utmost severity upon the Ladies, and spirited the whole with satirical additions of his own. But *Madam Dacier* (who has elsewhere animadverted upon the good Bishop of *Theſſalonica*, for his sage admonitions against the fair sex) has not taken the least notice of this general defection from complaisance in all the commentators. She seems willing to give the whole passage a more important turn, and incline us to think that *Homer* de-

Thy *Juno* knows not the decrees of fate, 700
In vain the partner of imperial state.

What fav'rite Goddess then those cares divides,
Which *Jove* in prudence from his consort hides?

To this the Thund'rer: seek not thou to find
The sacred counsels of almighty mind: 705

Involved in darkness lies the great decree,
Nor can the depths of fate be pierc'd by thee.

What fits thy knowledge, thou the first shalt know;
The first of Gods above, and Men below;

But thou, nor they, shall search the thoughts that
roll 710

Deep in the close recesses of my soul.

Full on the fire the Goddess of the skies
Roll'd the large orbs of her majestic eyes,

signed to represent the folly and danger of prying into the secrets of providence. 'Tis thrown into that air in this translation, not only as it is more noble and instructive in general, but as it is more respectful to the *Ladies* in particular; nor should we (any more than *Madam Dacier*) have mentioned what those old fellows have said, but to desire *their* protection against some modern criticks, their disciples, who may arraign this proceeding.

§. 713. *Roll'd the large Orbs.*] The Greek is Βαῖται μέγιστα ὄφθαλμοι, which is commonly translated the venerable ox-ey'd Juno. *Madam Dacier* very well observes that μέγιστος is only an augmentative

Book 1. HOMER'S ILIAD. 67

And thus return'd. *Austere Saturnius*, say,
From whence this wrath, or who controuls thy
 fway? 715

Thy boundless will, for me, remains in force,
And all thy counsels take the destin'd course.

But 'tis for *Greece* I fear : for late was seen
In close consult, the silver-footed Queen.

Jove to his *Thetis* nothing could deny, 720

Nor was the signal vain that shook the sky.

What fatal favour has the Goddess won,

To grace her fierce, inexorable son ?

Perhaps in *Grecian* blood to drench the plain,

And glut his vengeance with my people slain. 725

Then thus the God : Oh restless fate of pride,
That strives to learn what heav'n resolves to hide ;
Vain is the search, presumptuous and abhor'd,
Anxious to thee, and odious to thy Lord.

particle, and signifies no more than *valde*. It may be added, that the imagination that oxen have larger eyes than ordinary is ill-grounded, and has no foundation in truth ; their eyes are no larger in proportion than those of men, or of most other animals. But be it as it will, the design of the Poet, which is only to express the largeness of her eyes, is answered in the paraphrase.

Let this suffice ; th' immutable decree 730

No force can shake : what *is*, that *ought* to be.

Goddeſs ſubmit, nor dare our will withſtand,

But dread the pow'r of this avenging hand ;

Th' united ſtrength of all the Gods above

In vain reſiſts th' omnipotence of *Jove*. 735

The Thund'rer ſpoke, nor durſt the Queen
reply ;

A rev'rend horror ſilenc'd all the ſky.

The feaſt diſturb'd, with ſorrow *Vulcan* ſaw

His mother menac'd, and the Gods in awe ;

Peace at his heart, and pleaſure his deſign, 740

Thus interpoſ'd the Architec't divine.

ſ. 741. *Thus interpoſ'd the Architec't divine.*] This quarrel of the Gods being come to its height, the Poet makes *Vulcan* interpoſe, who freely puts them in mind of pleaſure, inoffenſively adviſes *Juno*, illuſtrates his advice by an example of his own miſfortune, turning the jeſt on himſelf to enliven the banquet ; and concludes the part he is to ſupport with ſerving *Nectar* about. *Homer* had here his *Minerva* or *Wiſdom* to interpoſe again, and every other quality of the mind reſided in Heaven under the appearance of ſome Deity : ſo that his introducing *Vulcan*, proceeded not from a want of choice, but an inſight into nature. He knew that a friend to mirth often diverts or ſtops quarrels, eſpecially when he contrives to ſubmit himſelf to the laugh, and prevails on the angry to part in good humour, or in a diſpoſition to friendſhip ; when grave

The wretched quarrels of the mortal state
 Are far unworthy, Gods ! of your debate :
 Let men their days in senseless strife employ,
 We, in eternal peace, and constant joy. 745
 Thou Goddess-mother, with our fire comply,
 Nor break the sacred union of the sky :
 Lest, rous'd to rage, he shake the blest abodes,
 Launch the red lightning, and dethrone the
 Gods.

If you submit, the Thund'rer stands pleas'd ; 750
 The gracious pow'r is willing to be pleas'd.

Thus *Vulcan* spoke ; and rising with a bound,
 The double bowl with sparkling *Nectar* crown'd,
 Which held to *Juno* in a chearful way,
 Goddess (he cried) be patient and obey. 755
 Dear as you are, if *Jove* his arm extend,
 I can but grieve, unable to defend.
 What God so daring in your aid to move,
 Or lift his hand against the force of *Jove* ?

representations are sometimes reproaches, sometimes lengthen
 the debate by occasioning defences, and sometimes introduce
 new parties into the consequences of it.

Once in your cause I felt his matchless might, 760
Hurl'd headlong downward from th' etherial
height ;

Toft all the day in rapid circles round ;
Nor till the Sun descended, touch'd the ground :
Breathless I fell, in giddy motion loft ;

The *Sinthians* rais'd me on the *Lemnian* coast. 765

He said, and to her hands the goblet heav'd,
Which, with a smile, the white-arm'd Queen
receiv'd.

§. 760. *Once in - cause I felt his matchless might.*] “ They
“ who search another vein of allegory for hidden knowledge
“ in natural Philosophy, have considered *Jupiter* and *Juno* as
“ *Heaven* and the *Air*, whose alliance is interrupted when
“ the air is troubled above, but restored again when it is
“ cleared by heat, or *Vulcan* the God of Heat. Him they
“ call a divine artificer, from the activity or general use of
“ fire in working. They suppose him to be born in Heaven,
“ where philosophers say that element has its proper place ;
“ and is thence derived to the earth, which is signified by
“ the fall of *Vulcan* ; that he fell in *Lemnos*, because that
“ Island abounds with subterranean fires ; and that he con-
“ tracted a lameness or imperfection by the fall ; the fire not
“ being so pure and active below, but mixed and terrestrial.”
Eustathius.

§. 767. *Which, with a smile, the white-arm'd Queen re-*
ceiv'd.] The epithet λευκώλενος, or *white-arm'd*, is used by *Ho-*
mer several times before, in this book. This was the first
passage where it could be introduced with any ease or grace ;

Then to the rest he fill'd; and in his turn,
Each to his lips apply'd the nectar'd urn.

Vulcan with aukward grace his office plies, 770
And unextinguish'd laughter shakes the skies.

Thus the blest Gods the genial day prolong,
In feasts ambrosial, and celestial song.

Apollo tun'd the lyre; the Muses round
With voice alternate aid the silver sound. 775
Meantime the radiant Sun, to mortal sight
Descending swift, roll'd down the rapid light.

because the action she is here described in, of extending her arm to the cup, gives it an occasion of displaying its beauties, and in a manner demands the epithet.

§. 771. *Laughter shakes the skies.*] *Vulcan* designed to move laughter by taking upon him the office of *Hebe* and *Ganymede*, with his aukward limping carriage. But though he prevailed, and *Homer* tells you the Gods did laugh, yet he takes care not to mention a word of his lameness. It would have been cruel in him, and wit out of season, to have enlarged with derision upon an imperfection which is out of one's power to remedy. According to this good natured opinion of *Eustathius*, Mr. *Dryden* has treated *Vulcan* a little barbarously. He makes his character perfectly comical, he is the jest of the board, and the Gods are very merry upon the imperfections of his figure. *Chapman* led him into this error in general, as well as into some indecencies of expression in particular, which will be seen upon comparing them.

For what concerns the laughter attributed here to the Gods, see the Notes on *lib. 5. §. 517.*

Then to their starry domes the Gods depart,

The shining monuments of *Vulcan's* art :

Jove on his couch reclin'd his awful head, 780

And *Juno* slumber'd on the golden bed.

ψ. 778. *Then to their starry domes.*] The Astrologers assign twelve houses to the Planets, wherein they are said to have dominion. Now because *Homer* tells us *Vulcan* built a mansion for every God, the ancients write that he first gave occasion for this doctrine.

ψ. 780. *Jove on his couch reclin'd his awful head.*] *Eustathius* makes a distinction between *καθιδύειν* and *ιμνέειν*; the words which are used at the end of this book, and the beginning of the next, with regard to *Jupiter's* sleeping. He says *καθιδύειν* only means lying down in a disposition to sleep; which salves the contradiction that else would follow in the next book, where it is said *Jupiter* did not sleep. I only mention this to vindicate the translation which differs from Mr. *Dryden's*.

It has been remarked by the scholiasts, that this is the only book of the twenty-four without any *simile*, a figure in which *Homer* abounds every where else. The like remark is made by *Madam Dacier* upon the first of the *Odyssey*; and because the Poet has observed the same conduct in both works, it is concluded he thought a simplicity of style, without the great figures, was proper during the first information of the reader. This observation may be true, and admits of refined reasonings; but for my part I cannot think the book had been the worse, though he had thrown in as many *similes* as *Virgil* has in the first *Æneid*.



THE
SECOND BOOK
OF THE
ILIAD.



The A R G U M E N T.

The trial of the army and catalogue of the forces.

JUPITER, in pursuance of the request of Thetis, sends a deceitful vision to Agamemnon, persuading him to lead the army to battle; in order to make the Greeks sensible of their want of Achilles. The General, who is deluded with the hopes of taking Troy without his assistance, but fears the army was discouraged by his absence and the late plague, as well as by the length of time, contrives to make trial of their disposition by a stratagem. He first communicates his design to the Princes in council, that he would propose a return to the soldiers, and that they should put a stop to them if the proposal was embraced. Then he assembles the whole host, and upon moving for a return to Greece, they unanimously agree to it, and run to prepare the ships. They are detained by the management of Ulysses, who chastises the insolence of Thersites. The Assembly is recalled, several speeches made on the occasion, and at length the advice of Nestor followed, which was to make a general muster of the troops, and to divide them into their several nations, before they proceeded to battle. This gives occasion to the Poet to enumerate all the forces of the Greeks and Trojans, and in a large catalogue.

The time employed in this book consists not entirely of one day. The scene lies in the Grecian camp and upon the sea-shore; toward the end it removes to Troy.



THE
SECOND BOOK
OF THE
ILIAD.

Now pleasing sleep had seal'd each mortal
eye,
Stretch'd in the tents the *Grecian* Leaders lie,
Th' immortals slumber'd on their thronés above;
All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of *Jove*.

¶ 1. *Now pleasing sleep, &c.*] *Aristotle* tells us in the twenty-sixth chapter of his art of poetry, that this place had been objected to by some criticks in those times. They thought it gave a very ill idea of the military discipline of the *Greeks*, to represent a whole army ungarded, and all the leaders asleep: they also pretended it was ridiculous to describe all the Gods sleeping besides *Jupiter*. To both these *Aristotle* answers, that

To honour *Thetis*' son he bends his care, 5
 And plunge the *Greeks* in all the woes of war :
 Then bids an empty phantom rise to fight,
 And thus commands the *Vision* of the night.

Fly hence, deluding *Dream* ! and light as air,
 To *Agamemnon*'s ample tent repair. 10

nothing is more usual or allowable than that figure which puts all for the greater part. One may add with respect to the latter Criticism, that nothing could give a better image of the superiority of *Jupiter* to the other Gods (or of the supreme Being to all second causes) than the vigilancy here ascribed to him, over all things divine and human.

§. 9. Fly hence, deluding dream.] It appears from *Aristotle*, *Poet.* cap. 26. that *Homer* was accused of impiety, for making *Jupiter* the author of a lye in this passage. It seems there were anciently these words in his speech to the dream; *Δίδου μοι εὖ καὶ ἀπλοῦσαι*, Let us give him great glory. (Instead of which we have in the present copies, *Τῶνόνος δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν*.) But *Hippias* found a way to bring off *Homer*, only by placing the accent on the last syllable but one, *Δίδου*, for *Διδόμενα*, the infinitive for the imperative; which amounts to no more than he bade the dream to promise him great glory. But *Macrobius de Somnio Scip.* lib. i. cap. 7. takes off this imputation entirely, and will not allow there was any lye in the case. " *Agamemnon* (says he) was ordered by the dream to lead out " all the forces of the *Greeks*, (*Πανούδιον* is the word) and promised the victory on that condition: now *Achilles* and his forces not being summoned to the assembly with the rest, " that neglect absolved *Jupiter* from his promise." This remark *Madam Dacier* has inserted without mentioning its author. Mr. *Dacier* takes notice of a passage in the scripture exactly parallel to this, where God is represented making use of the malignity of his creatures to accomplish his judgments,

Bid him in arms draw forth th' embattel'd train,
Lead all his *Grecians* to the dusty plain.

Declare, ev'n now 'tis given him to destroy
The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended *Troy*.

For now no more the Gods with fate contend, 15
At *Juno's* suit the heav'nly factions end.

Destruktion hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
And nodding *Ilion* waits th' impending fall.

Swift as the word the vain Illusion fled,
Descends, and hovers o'er *Atrides'* head ; 20

It is in 2 *Chron.* ch. xviii. v. 19, 20, 21. *And the Lord said, Who will persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: Go forth and do so. Vide Dacier upon Aristotle, cap. 26.*

v. 20. *Descends, and hovers o'er Atrides' head.*] The whole action of the *dream* is beautifully natural, and agreeable to philosophy. It perches on his head, to intimate that part to be the seat of the soul: it is circumfused about him, to express that total possession of the senses which fancy has during our sleep. It takes the figure of the person who was dearest to *Agamemnon*; as whatever we think of most, when awake, is the common object of our dreams. And just at the instant of its vanishing, it leaves such an impression that the voice seems still to sound in his ear. No description can be more exact or lively. *Eustathius, Dacier.*

Cloath'd in the figure of the *Pylia*n Sage,
 Renown'd for wisdom, and rever'd for age;
 Around his temples spreads his golden wing,
 And thus the flatt'ring dream deceives the King.

Canst thou, with all a Monarch's cares oppress'd,
 Oh *Atreus*' son! canst thou indulge thy rest? 26
 Ill fits a Chief who mighty nations guides,
 Directs in council, and in war presides,
 To whom its safety a whole people owes,
 To waste long nights in indolent repose. 30
 Monarch awake! 'tis *Jove*'s command I bear,
 Thou, and thy glory, claim his heav'nly care.
 In just array draw forth th' embattel'd train,
 Lead all thy *Grecians* to the dusty plain;

§. 33. *Draw forth th' embattel'd train, &c.*] The dream here repeats the message of *Jupiter* in the same terms that he received it. It is no less than the Father of Gods and men who gives the order, and to alter a word were presumption. *Homer* constantly makes his envoys observe this practice as a mark of decency and respect. *Madam Dacier* and others have applauded this in general, and asked by what authority an ambassador could alter the terms of his commission, since he is not greater or wiser than the person who gave the charge? But this is not always the case in our author, who not only makes use of this conduct with respect to the orders of a higher power, but in regard to equals also; as when one Goddess desires another to represent such an affair, and she

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 79

Ev'n now, O King! 'tis given thee to destroy 35

The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended *Troy*.

For now no more the Gods with fate contend,

At *Juno's* suit the heav'nly factions end.

Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,

And nodding *Ilion* waits th' impending fall. 40

Awake, but waking this advice approve,

And trust the vision that descends from *Jove*.

The Phantom said; then vanish'd from his sight,

Resolves to air, and mixes with the night. 44

A thousand schemes the Monarch's mind employ;

Elate in thought, he sacks untaken *Troy*:

immediately takes the words from her mouth and repeats them, of which we have an instance in this book. Some objection too may be raised in this manner, when commissions are given in the utmost haste (in a battle or the like) upon sudden emergencies, where it seems not very natural to suppose a man has time to get so many words by heart as he is made to repeat exactly. In the present instance, the repetition is certainly graceful, though *Zenodotus* thought it not so the third time, when *Agamemnon* tells his dream to the council. I do not pretend to decide upon the point: for though the reverence of the repetition seemed less needful in that place, than when it was delivered immediately from *Jupiter*; yet (as *Eustathius* observes) it was necessary for the assembly to know the circumstances of this dream, that the truth of the relation might be unsuspected.

Vain as he was, and to the future blind ;
 Nor saw what *Jove* and secret fate design'd,
 What mighty toils to either host remain,
 What scenes of grief, and numbers of the slain ! 50
 Eager he rises, and in fancy hears
 The voice celestial murm'ring in his ears.
 First on his limbs a slender vest he drew,
 Around him next the regal mantle threw,
 Th' embroider'd sandals on his feet were ty'd ; 55
 The starry faulchion glitter'd at his side ;
 And last his arm the massy sceptre loads,
 Unstain'd, immortal, and the gift of Gods.

Now rose morn ascends the court of *Jove*,
 Lifts up her light, and opens day above. 60
 The King dispatch'd his heralds with commands
 To range the camp and summon all the bands :
 The gath'ring hosts the Monarch's word obey ;
 While to the fleet *Atrides* bends his way.
 In his black ship the *Pylian* Prince he found ; 65
 There calls a Senate of the Peers around :
 Th' assembly plac'd, the King of men express
 The counsels lab'ring in his artful breast.

Friends and Confed'rates ! with attentive ear
 Receive my words, and credit what you hear. 70
 Late as I slumber'd in the shades of night,
 A dream divine appear'd before my sight ;
 Whose visionary form like *Nestor* came,
 The same in habit, and in mien the same.
 The heav'nly Phantom hover'd o'er my head, 75
 And, dost thou sleep, Oh *Atreus'* son ? (he said)
 Ill fits a Chief who mighty nations guides,
 Directs in council, and in war presides,
 To whom its safety a whole people owes ;
 To waste long nights in indolent repose. 80
 Monarch awake ! 'tis *Jove's* command I bear,
 Thou and thy glory claim his heav'nly care.
 In just array draw forth th' embattel'd train,
 And lead the *Grecians* to the dusty plain ;
 Ev'n now, O King ! 'tis given thee to destroy 85
 The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended *Troy*.
 For now no more the Gods with fate contend,
 At *Juno's* suit the heav'nly factions end.
 Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
 And nodding *Ilion* waits th' impending fall. 90

This hear observant, and the Gods obey!

The vision spoke, and past in air away.

Now, valiant chiefs! since heav'n itself alarms;

Unite, and rouse the sons of Greece to arms.

§. 93. Now, valiant chiefs, &c.] The best commentary extant upon the first part of this book is in *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who has given us an admirable explication of this whole conduct of *Agamemnon* in his second treatise Περὶ ἰστορικῆς ποιήσεως. He says, "This Prince had nothing so much at heart as to draw the *Greeks* to a battle, yet knew not how to proceed without *Achilles*, who had just retired from the army; and was apprehensive that the *Greeks* who were displeased at the departure of *Achilles*, might refuse obedience to his orders, should he absolutely command it. In this circumstance he proposes to the Princes in council to make a trial of arming the *Grecians*, and offers an expedient himself; which was, that he should sound their dispositions by exhorting them to set sail for *Greece*, but that then the other Princes should be ready to dissuade and detain them. If any object to this stratagem, that *Agamemnon's* whole scheme would be ruined if the army should take him at his word (which was very probable) it is to be answered, that his design lay deeper than they imagine, nor did he depend upon his speech only for detaining them. He had some cause to fear the *Greeks* had a pique against him which they had concealed, and whatever it was, he judged it absolutely necessary to know it before he proceeded to a battle. He therefore furnishes them with an occasion to manifest it, and at the same time provides against any ill effects it might have, by his secret orders to the Princes. It succeeds accordingly, and when the troops are running to embark, they are stopped by *Ulysses* and *Nestor*."—One may farther observe that this whole stratagem is concerted in *Nestor's* ship, as one whose wisdom and secrecy was most confided

But first, with caution, try what yet they
dare, 95

Worn with nine years of unsuccessful war ?

To move the troops to measure back the main,
Be mine ; and yours the province to detain. ✱

He spoke, and sat ; when *Nestor* rising said,
(*Nestor*, whom *Pylos*' sandy realms obey'd) 100

Princes of *Greece*, your faithful ears incline,

Nor doubt the vision of the pow'rs divine ;

Sent by great *Jove* to him who rules the host,

Forbid it heav'n ! this warning should be lost !

Then let us haste, obey the God's alarms, 105

And join to rouse the sons of *Greece* to arms.

Thus spoke the sage : the Kings without delay
Dissolve the council, and their chief obey :

The sceptred rulers lead ; the following host 109

Pour'd forth by thousands, darkens all the coast.

in. The story of the vision's appearing in his shape, could not but engage him in some degree : it looked as if *Jupiter* himself added weight to his counsels by making use of that venerable appearance, and knew this to be the most powerful method of recommending them to *Agamemnon*. It was therefore but natural for *Nestor* to second the motion of the King, and by the help of his authority it prevailed on the other Princes.

As from some rocky cleft the shepherd sees III
Clust'ring in heaps on heaps the driving bees,

ψ. III. *As from some rocky cleft.*] This is the first simile in *Homer*, and we may observe in general that he excels all mankind in the number, variety, and beauty of his comparisons. There are scarce any in *Virgil* which are not translated from him, and therefore when he succeeds best in them, he is to be commended but as an improver. *Scaliger* seems not to have thought of this, when he compares the similes of these two authors (as indeed they are the places most obvious to comparison). The present passage is an instance of it, to which he opposes the following verses in the first *Æneid*, ψ. 434.

- “ Qualis apes æstate novâ per florea rura
- “ Exercet sub sole labor, cùm gentis adultos
- “ Educunt foetus, aut cùm liquentia mella
- “ Stipant, & dulci distendunt nectare cellas ;
- “ Aut onera accipiunt venientium, aut agmine facto
- “ Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent.
- “ Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.”

This he very much prefers to *Homer*'s, and in particular extols the harmony and sweetness of the versification above that of our Author ; against which censure we need only appeal to the ears of the reader.

Ἦύτε ἔθνα εἰσι μελισσῶν ἀδυνάων,
Πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομένων,
Βόλκεδον δὲ πύτοντας ἐπ' ἀνθισιν εἰαυνοῖσιν.
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔθνα ἄλλες πεποτήχαι, αἱ δὲ τι ἔθνα, &c.

But *Scaliger* was unlucky in his choice of this particular comparison : there is a very fine one in the sixth *Æneid*, ψ. 707. that better agrees with *Homer*'s : and nothing is more evident than that the design of these two is very different : *Homer* intended to describe the multitude of Greeks pouring out of the ships, *Virgil* the diligence and labour of the builders at Car-

Rolling, and black'ning, swarms succeeding
 swarms,

With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms;
 Dusky they spread, a close embody'd croud, 115
 And o'er the vale descends the living cloud.

So, from the tents and ships, a length'ning train
 Spreads all the beach, and wide o'er shades the
 plain :

Along the region runs a deaf'ning sound;
 Beneath their footsteps groans the trembling
 ground. 120

Fame flies before, the messenger of *Jove*,
 And shining soars, and claps her wings above.

thage. And *Macrobius*, who observes this difference, *Sat. lib. v. c. 11*. should also have found, that therefore the similes ought not to be compared together. The beauty of *Homer's* is not inferior to *Virgil's*, if we consider with what exactness it answers to its end. It consists of three particulars; the vast number of the troops is expressed in the swarms, their tumultuous manner of issuing out of the ships, and the perpetual egression which seemed without end, are imaged in the bees pouring out of the rock, and lastly, their dispersion over all the shore, in their descending on the flowers in the vales. *Spondanus* was therefore mistaken when he thought the whole application of this comparison lay in the single word *inades*, *cateruatum*, as *Chapman* has justly observed.

✱. 121. *Fame flies before*.] This assembling of the army is full of beauties: the lively description of their overspreading

Nine sacred heralds now, proclaiming loud
 The monarch's will, suspend the list'ning croud.
 Soon as the throngs in order rang'd appear, 125
 And fainter murmurs dy'd upon the ear,
 The King of Kings his awful figure rais'd ;
 High in his hand the golden sceptre blaz'd :
 The golden sceptre, of celestial frame,
 By *Vulcan* form'd, from *Jove* to *Hermes* came : 130
 To *Pelops* he th' immortal gift resign'd ;
 Th' immortal gift great *Pelops* left behind,
 In *Atreus*' hand, which not with *Atreus* ends,
 To rich *Thyestes* next the prize descends ;
 And now the mark of *Agamemnon*'s reign, 135
 Subjects all *Argos*, and controuls the main.

the field, the noble boldness of the figure when *Fame* is represented in person shining at their head: the universal tumult succeeded by a solemn silence; and lastly the graceful rising of *Agamemnon*, all contribute to cast a majesty on this part. In the passage of the *sceptre*, *Homer* has found an artful and poetical manner of acquainting us with the high descent of *Agamemnon*, and celebrating the hereditary right of his family; as well as finely hinted the original of his power to be derived from heaven, in saying the sceptre was first the gift of *Jupiter*. It is with reference to this, that in the line where he first mentions it, he calls it *Ἀφθίτοισι*, and accordingly it is translated in that place,

On this bright sceptre now the King reclin'd,
And artful thus pronounc'd the speech design'd,

ψ. 138. *And artful thus pronounc'd the speech design'd.*] The remarks of *Dionysius* upon this speech I shall give the reader all together, though they lie scattered in his two discourses Περὶ ἰσχυρισμῶν, the second of which is in a great degree but a repetition of the precepts and examples of the first. This happened, I believe, from his having compos'd them at distinct times and upon different occasions.

“ It is an exquisite piece of art, when you seem to aim at
“ persuading one thing, and at the same time inforce the
“ contrary. This kind of Rhetorick is of great use in all
“ occasions of danger, and of this *Homer* has afforded a most
“ powerful example in the oration of *Agamemnon*. It is a
“ method perfectly wonderful, and even carries in it an ap-
“ pearance of absurdity; for all that we generally esteem the
“ faults of oratory, by this means become the virtues of it.
“ Nothing is looked upon as a greater error in a Rhetorician
“ than to alledge such arguments as either are easily answered
“ or may be retorted upon himself; the former is a weak
“ part, the latter a dangerous one; and *Agamemnon* here de-
“ signedly deals in both. For it is plain that if a man must
“ not use weak arguments, or such as may make against
“ him, when he intends to persuade the thing he says; then
“ on the other side, when he does not intend it, he must ob-
“ serve the contrary proceeding, and make what are the faults
“ of oratory in general, the excellencies of that oration in
“ particular, or otherwise he will contradict his own inten-
“ tion, and persuade the contrary to what he means. *Aga-*
“ *memnon* begins with an argument easily answered, by tell-
“ ing them that *Jupiter* had promised to crown their arms with
“ victory. For if *Jupiter* had promised this, it was a reason
“ for the stay in the camp. But now (says he) *Jove* has de-
“ ceived us, and we must return with ignominy. This is ano-
“ ther of the same kind, for it shews what a disgrace it is to
“ return. What follows is of the second sort, and may be

Ye sons of *Mars*! partake your leader's care,
 Heroes of *Greece*, and brothers of the war! 140

“ turned against him. *Jove* will have it so: for which they
 “ have only *Agamemnon*'s word, but *Jove*'s own promise to
 “ the contrary. *That God has overthrown many cities, and*
 “ *will yet overturn many others.* This was a strong reason
 “ to stay, and put their confidence in him. *It is shameful to*
 “ *have it told to all posterity, that so many thousand Greeks, af-*
 “ *ter a war of so long continuance, at last returned home baffled*
 “ *and unsuccessful.* All this might have been said by a profess
 “ adversary to the cause he pleads, and indeed is the same
 “ thing *Ulysses* says elsewhere in reproach of their flight. The
 “ conclusion evidently shews the intent of the speaker. *Haste*
 “ *then; let us fly; φύγωμεν,* the word which of all others was
 “ most likely to prevail upon them to stay; the most open
 “ term of disgrace he could possibly have used: it is the same
 “ which *Juno* makes use of to *Minerva*, *Minerva* to *Ulysses*,
 “ and *Ulysses* again to the troops, to dissuade their return;
 “ the same which *Agamemnon* himself had used to insult *A-*
 “ *chilles*, and which *Homer* never employs but with the mark
 “ of cowardice and infamy.”

The same author farther observes, “ That this whole ora-
 “ tion has the air of being spoken in a passion. It begins
 “ with a stroke of the greatest rashness and impatience. *Ju-*
 “ *piter has been unjust, Heaven has deceived us.* This renders
 “ all he shall say of the less authority, at the same time that
 “ it conceals his own artifice; for his anger seems to account
 “ for the incongruities he utters.” I could not suppress so
 fine a remark, though it falls out of the order of those which
 precede it.

Before I leave this article, I must take notice that this
 speech of *Agamemnon* is again put into his mouth in the ninth
Iliad, and (according to *Dionysius*) for the same purpose, to
 detain the army at the siege after a defeat; though it seems
 unartful to put the same trick twice upon the *Greeks* by the

Of partial *Jove* with justice I complain,
And heav'nly oracles believ'd in vain.

A safe return was promis'd to our toils,
Renown'd, triumphant, and enrich'd with spoils.
Now shameful flight alone can save the host, 145
Our blood, our treasure, and our glory lost.

So *Jove* decrees, resistless Lord of all !

At whose command whole empires rise or fall :
He shakes the feeble props of human trust,
And towns and armies humbles to the dust. 150

What shame to *Greece* a fruitless war to wage,
Oh lasting shame in ev'ry future age !

Once great in arms, the common scorn we grow,
Repuls'd and baffled by a feeble foe.

So small their number, that if wars were ceas'd, 155
And *Greece* triumphant held a gen'ral feast,

same person, and in the same words too. We may indeed suppose the first feint to have remained undiscovered, but at best it is a management in the Poet not very entertaining to the readers.

ψ. 155. *So small their number, &c.*] This part has a low air in comparison with the rest of the speech. *Scaliger* calls it *tabernariam orationem*: but it is well observed by *Madam Dacier*, that the image *Agamemnon* here gives of the *Trojans*, does not only render their numbers contemptible in comparison of the

All rank'd by tens; whole decads when they dine
 Must want a *Trojan* slave to pour the wine.
 But other forces have our hopes o'erthrown,
 And *Troy* prevails by armies not her own. 160
 Now nine long years of mighty *Jove* are run,
 Since first the labours of this war begun:
 Our cordage torn, decay'd our vessels lie,
 And scarce ensure the wretched pow'r to fly.

Greeks, but their persons too: for it makes them appear but as a few vile slaves fit only to serve them with wine. To which we may add, that it affords a prospect to his soldiers of their future state and triumph after the conquest of their enemies.

This passage gives me occasion to animadvert upon a computation of the number of the *Trojans*, which the learned *Angelus Politian* has offered at in his *Preface to Homer*. He thinks they were fifty thousand without the auxiliaries, from the conclusion of the eighth *Iliad*, where it is said there were a thousand funeral piles of *Trojans* and fifty men attending each of them. But that the auxiliaries are to be admitted into that number, appears plainly from this place: *Agamemnon* expressly distinguishes the native *Trojans* from the aids, and reckons but one to ten *Grecians*, at which estimate there could not be above ten thousand *Trojans*. See the notes on the catalogue.

ÿ. 163. — Decay'd our vessels lie,

And scarce ensure the wretched pow'r to fly.]

This, and some other passages, are here translated correspondent to the general air and sense of this speech, rather than just to the letter. The telling them in this place how much their shipping was decayed, was a hint of their danger in returning, as *Madam Dacier* has remarked.

Haste then, for ever leave the *Trojan* wall! 165

Our weeping wives, our tender children call:

Love, duty, safety, summon us away,

'Tis nature's voice, and nature we obey.

Our shatter'd barks may yet transport us o'er,

Safe and inglorious, to our native shore. 170

Fly, *Grecians*, fly, your sails and oars employ,

And dream no more of heav'n-defended *Troy*.

His deep design unknown, the hosts approve
Atrides' speech. The mighty numbers move.

So roll the billows to th' *Icarian* shore, 175

From East and South when winds begin to roar,

Burst their dark mansions in the clouds, and

sweep

The whitening surface of the ruffled deep.

And as on corn when western gusts descend,

Before the blast the lofty harvests bend: 180

ψ. 175. *So roll the billows, &c.*] One may take notice that *Homer* in these two similitudes has judiciously made choice of the two most wavering and inconstant things in nature, to compare with the multitude; the *waves* and *ears of corn*. The first alludes to the noise and tumult of the people, in the breaking and rolling of the billows; the second to their taking the same course, like corn bending one way; and both to the easiness with which they are moved by every *breath*.

Thus o'er the field the moving host appears,
With nodding plumes and groves of waving spears.
The gath'ring murmur spreads, their trampling feet
Beat the loose sands, and thicken to the fleet.

With long-resounding cries they urge the train 185
To fit the ships, and launch into the main.

They toil, they sweat, thick clouds of dust arise,
The doubling clamours echo to the skies.

Ev'n then the *Greeks* had left the hostile plain,
And fate decreed the fall of *Troy* in vain ; 190
But *Jove's* imperial Queen their flight survey'd,
And sighing thus bespoke the blue-eyed maid.

Shall then the *Grecians* fly ! Oh dire disgrace !
And leave unpunish'd this perfidious race ?

Shall *Troy*, shall *Priam*, and th' adultr'ous spouse,
In peace enjoy the fruits of broken vows ? 196

And bravest chiefs, in *Helen's* quarrel slain,
Lie unreveng'd on yon' detested plain ?

No ; let my *Greeks*, unmov'd by vain alarms,
Once more refulgent shine in brazen arms. 200

Haste, Goddess, haste ! the flying host detain,
Nor let one sail be hoisted on the main,

Pallas obeys, and from *Olympus'* height
 Swift to the ships precipitates her flight;
Ulysses, first in publick cares, she found, 205
 For prudent counsel like the Gods renown'd:
 Oppress'd with gen'rous grief the Hero stood,
 Nor drew his sable vessels to the flood.
 And is it thus, divine *Laërtes'* son!
 Thus fly the *Greeks* (the martial maid begun) 210
 Thus to their country bear their own disgrace,
 And fame eternal leave to *Priam's* race?
 Shall beauteous *Helen* still remain unfreed,
 Still unreveng'd, a thousand heroes bleed?
 Haste gen'rous *Ithacus!* prevent the shame, 215
 Recall your armies, and your chiefs reclaim.
 Your own resistless eloquence employ,
 And to th' Immortals trust the fall of *Troy*.

The voice divine confess'd the warlike maid,
Ulysses heard, nor uninspir'd obey'd: 220
 Then meeting first *Atrides*, from his hand
 Receiv'd th' imperial sceptre of command.
 Thus grac'd, attention and respect to gain,
 He runs, he flies thro' all the *Grecian* train,

Each Prince of name, or chief in arms ap-
 prov'd, 225

He fir'd with praise, or with persuasion mov'd.

Warriours like you, with strength and wisdom
 blest,

By brave examples should confirm the rest.

The monarch's will not yet reveal'd appears;

He tries our courage, but resents our fears. 230

Th' unwary *Greeks* his fury may provoke;

Not thus the King in secret council spoke.

Jove loves our chief, from *Jove* his honour springs,

Beware! for dreadful is the wrath of Kings.

But if a clam'rous vile Plebeian rose, 235

Him with reproof he check'd, or tam'd with
 blows.

Be still, thou slave, and to thy betters yield;

Unknown alike in council and in field!

Ye Gods, what dastards would our host com-
 mand?

Swept to the war, the lumber of a land. 240

Be silent, wretch, and think not here allow'd

That worst of tyrants, an usurping croud.

To one sole Monarch *Jove* commits the sway;
His are the laws, and him let all obey.

With words like these the troops *Ulysses* rul'd,
The loudest silenc'd, and the fiercest cool'd. 246
Back to th' assembly roll the thronging train,
Desert the ships, and pour upon the plain.
Murm'ring they move, as when old *Ocean* roars,
And heaves huge surges to the trembling
shores : 250

§. 243. *To one sole Monarch.*] Those persons are under a mistake who would make this sentence a praise of absolute monarchy. *Homer* speaks it only with regard to a general of an army during the time of his commission. Nor is *Agamemnon* styled *King of Kings* in any other sense, than as the rest of the Princes had given him the supreme authority over them in the siege. *Aristotle* defines a King, Στρατηγός γὰρ ἢ δὴ δικαστής ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς θεῶν Κύριος; *Leader of the war, Judge of controversies, and President of the ceremonies of the Gods.* That he had the principal care of religious rites, appears from many places in *Homer*; and that his power was no where absolute but in war: for we find *Agamemnon* insulted in the council, but in the army threatening deserters with death. He was under an obligation to preserve the privileges of his country, pursuant to which Kings are called by our author Δικαστοί, and Θμιστοί, the dispensers or managers of Justice. And *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* acquaints us, that the old Grecian Kings, whether hereditary or elective, had a council of their chief men, as *Homer* and the most ancient Poets testify; nor was it (he adds) in those times as in ours, when Kings have a full liberty to do whatever they please. *Dion. Hal. lib. ii. Hist.*

The groaning banks are burst with bellowing
 sound,

The rocks remurmur, and the deeps rebound.

At length the tumult sinks, the noises cease,

And a still silence lulls the camp to peace.

Thersites only clamour'd in the throng, 255

Loquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue :

§. 255. *Thersites only.*] The ancients have ascribed to *Homer* the first sketch of *Satyrical* or *Comic* poetry, of which sort was his poem called *Margites*, as *Aristotle* reports. Though that piece be lost, this character of *Thersites* may give us a taste of his vein in that kind. But whether ludicrous descriptions ought to have place in the *Epic* poem, has been justly questioned : neither *Virgil* nor any of the most approved Ancients have thought fit to admit them into their compositions of that nature ; nor any of the best moderns except *Milton*, whose fondness for *Homer* might be the reason of it. However this is in its kind a very masterly part, and our Author has shewn great judgment in the particulars he has chosen to compose the picture of a pernicious creature of wit ; the chief of which are a desire of promoting laughter at any rate, and a contempt of his superiours. And he sums up the whole very strongly, by saying that *Thersites* hated *Achilles* and *Ulysses* ; in which, as *Plutarch* has remarked in his treatise of envy and hatred, he makes it the utmost completion of an ill character to bear a malevolence to the best men. What is farther observable is, that *Thersites* is never heard of after this his first appearance : such a scandalous character is to be taken no more notice of, than just to shew that it is despised. *Homer* has observed the same conduct with regard to the most deformed and most beautiful person of his poem : for *Nireus* is thus mentioned once and no more throughout the *Iliad*. He places a

Aw'd by no shame, by no respect controul'd,
 In scandal busy, in reproaches bold:
 With witty malice studious to defame;
 Scorn all his joy, and laughter all his aim. 260
 But chief he glory'd with licentious style
 To lash the great, and monarchs to revile.
 His figure such as might his soul proclaim;
 One eye was blinking, and one leg was lame:
 His mountain-shoulders half his breast o'er-
 spread, 265
 Thin hairs bestrew'd his long mis-shapen head.
 Spleen to mankind his envious heart possess'd,
 And much he hated all, but most the best.
Ulysses or *Achilles* still his theme;
 But Royal scandal his delight supreme. 270
 Long had he liv'd the scorn of ev'ry *Greek*,
 Vext when he spoke, yet still they heard him speak.
 Sharp was his voice; which in the shrillest tone,
 Thus with injurious taunts attack'd the throne.

worthless *beauty* and an ill-natured *wit* upon the same foot;
 and shews that the gifts of the body without those of the
 mind are not more despicable, than those of the mind itself
 without virtue.

Amidst the glories of so bright a reign, 275
 What moves the great *Atrides* to complain?
 'Tis thine whate'er the warriour's breast inflames,
 The golden spoil, and thine the lovely dames.
 With all the wealth our wars and blood bestow,
 Thy tents are crouded, and thy chests o'erflow. 280
 Thus at full ease in heaps of riches roll'd,
 What grieves the Monarch? Is it thirst of gold?
 Say, shall we march with our unconquer'd pow'rs,
 (The *Greeks* and I) to *Ilion's* hostile tow'rs,

§. 275. *Amidst the glories.*] It is remarked by *Dionysius Halicarnassius*, in his treatise of the *Examination of Writers*, that there could not be a better artifice thought on to recall the army to their obedience, than this of our Author. When they were offended at their General in favour of *Achilles*, nothing could more weaken *Achilles's* interest than to make such a fellow as *Thersites* appear of his party, whose impertinence would give them a disgust of thinking or acting like him. There is no surer method to reduce generous spirits, than to make them see they are pursuing the same views with people of no merit, and such whom they cannot forbear despising themselves. Otherwise there is nothing in this speech but what might become the mouth of *Nestor* himself, if you except a word or two. And had *Nestor* spoken it, the army had certainly set sail for *Greece*; but because it was uttered by a ridiculous fellow whom they are ashamed to follow, they are reduced, and satisfied to continue the siege.

§. 284. *The Greeks and I.*] These boasts of himself are the few words which *Dionysius* objects to in the foregoing pas-

And bring the race of royal bastards here, 285
 For *Troy* to ransom at a price too dear?
 But safer plunder thy own host supplies;
 Say, would'st thou seize some valiant leader's prize?
 Or, if thy heart to gen'rous love be led,
 Some captive fair, to bless thy Kingly bed? 290
 Whate'er our master craves, submit we must,
 Plagu'd with his pride, or punish'd for his lust.
 Oh women of *Achaia*! men no more!
 Hence let us fly, and let him waste his store
 In loves and pleasures on the *Phrygian* shore. 295
 We may be wanted on some busy day,
 When *Hector* comes: so great *Achilles* may:
 From him he forc'd the prize we jointly gave,
 From him, the fierce, the fearless, and the brave:
 And durst he, as he ought, resent that wrong, 300
 This mighty tyrant were no tyrant long.

sage. I cannot but think the grave Commentators here very much mistaken, who imagine *Thersites* in earnest in these vaunts, and seriously reprove his insolence. They seem to me manifest strokes of Irony, which had rendered them so much the more improper in the mouth of *Nestor*, who was otherwise none of the least boasters himself. And considered as such, they are equal to the rest of the speech, which has an infinite deal of spirit, humour, and satyr.

Fierce from his seat at this *Ulysses* springs,
 In gen'rous vengeance of the King of Kings.
 With indignation sparkling in his eyes,
 He views the wretch, and sternly thus replies. 305

Peace, factious monster, born to vex the state,
 With wrangling talents form'd for foul debate :
 Curb that impetuous tongue, nor rashly vain
 And singly mad, asperse the sov'reign reign.
 Have we not known thee, slave ! of all our
 host, 310

The man who acts the least, upbraids the most ?
 Think not the *Greeks* to shameful flight to
 bring,

Nor let those lips profane the name of King.
 For our return we trust the heav'nly pow'rs ;
 Be that their care ; to fight like men be ours. 315
 But grant the host with wealth the gen'ral load,
 Except detraction, what hast thou bestow'd ?
 Suppose some Hero should his spoils resign,
 Art thou that Hero, could those spoils be thine ?
 Gods ! let me perish on this hateful shore, 320
 And let these eyes behold my son no more ;

If, on thy next offence, this hand forbear
 To strip those arms thou ill deserv'st to wear,
 Expel the council where our Princes meet,
 And send thee scourg'd, and howling thro' the
 fleet. 325

He said, and cowering as the dastard bends,
 The weighty sceptre on his back descends :
 On the round bunch the bloody tumours rise ;
 The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes :
 Trembling he sat, and shrunk in abject fears, 330
 From his vile visage wip'd the scalding tears.
 While to his neighbour each express'd his thought :
 Ye Gods ! what wonders has *Ulysses* wrought ?
 What fruits his conduct and his courage yield ?
 Great in the council, glorious in the field. 335
 Gen'rous he rises in the crown's defence,
 To curb the factious tongue of insolence.

*. 326. *He said, and cowering.*] The vile figure *Thersites* makes here is a good piece of *grotesque* ; the pleasure expressed by the soldiers at this action of *Ulysses* (notwithstanding they are disappointed by him of their hopes of returning) is agreeable to that generous temper, at once honest and thoughtless, which is commonly found in military men ; to whom nothing is so odious as a dastard, and who have not naturally the greatest kindness for a wit.

Such just examples on offenders shown,
Sedition silence, and assert the throne.

'Twas thus the general voice the Hero prais'd,
Who rising, high th' imperial sceptre rais'd: 341
The blue-ey'd *Pallas*, his celestial friend,
(In form a herald) bade the crouds attend.
Th' expecting crouds in still attention hung,
To hear the wisdom of his heav'nly tongue. 345
Then deeply thoughtful, pausing e'er he spoke,
His silence thus the prudent Hero broke.

Unhappy monarch! whom the *Grecian* race
With shame deserting, heap with vile disgrace.

†. 348. *Unhappy monarch! &c.*] *Quintilian*, speaking of the various kinds of oratory which may be learned from *Homer*, mentions among the greatest instances the speeches in this book. “Nonne vel unus liber quo missa ad Achillem legatio continetur, vel in primo inter duces illa contentio, vel dictæ in secundo sententiæ, omnes litium ac consiliorum explicat artes? Affectus quidem vel illos mites, vel hos concitados, nemo erit tam indoctus, qui non suâ in potestate hunc autorem habuisse fateatur.” It is indeed hardly possible to find any where more refined turns of policy, or more artful touches of oratory. We have no sooner seen *Agamemnon* excel in one sort, but *Ulysses* is to shine no less in another directly opposite to it. When the stratagem of pretending to set sail, had met with too ready a consent from the people, his eloquence appears in all the forms of art. In his first speech he had persuaded the captains with mildness, tell-

Not such at *Argos* was their gen'rous vow, 350
 Once all their voice, but ah ! forgotten now :
 Ne'er to return, was then the common cry,
 'Till *Troy's* proud structures should in ashes lie.

ing them the people's glory depended upon them, and readily giving a turn to the first design, which had like to have been so dangerous, by representing it only as a project of *Agamemnon* to discover the cowardly. In his second, he had commanded the soldiers with bravery, and made them know what part they sustained in the war. In his third, he had rebuked the seditious in the person of *Thersites*, by reproofs, threats, and actual chastisement. And now in this fourth, when all are gathered together, he applies to them in topics which equally affect them all : he raises their hearts by putting them in mind of the promises of heaven, and those prophecies, of which, as they had seen the truth in nine years delay, they might expect the accomplishment in the tenth year's success : which is a full answer to what *Agamemnon* had said of *Jupiter's* deceiving them.

Dionysius observes one singular piece of art, in *Ulysses's* manner of applying himself to the people when he would insinuate any thing to the Princes, and addressing to the Princes when he would blame the people. He tells the soldiers, they must not all pretend to be rulers there, let there be one King, one Lord ; which is manifestly a precept designed for the leaders to take to themselves. In the same manner *Tiberius Rhetor* remarks the beginning of his last oration to be a fine *Ethopopeia* or oblique reprehension of the people, upon whom the severity of the reproach is made to fall, while he seems to render the King an object of their pity.

Unhappy Monarch ! whom the *Grecian* race
 With shame deserting, &c.

Behold them weeping for their native shore !

What could their wives or helpless children
more ? 355

What heart but melts to leave the tender train,
And, one short month, endure the wintry main ?
Few leagues remov'd, we wish our peaceful seat,
When the ship tosses, and the tempests beat :
Then well may this long stay provoke their tears,
The tedious length of nine revolving years. 361

Not for their grief the *Grecian* host I blame ;
But vanquish'd ! baffled ! oh eternal shame !
Expect the time to *Troy's* destruction giv'n,
And try the faith of *Chalcas* and of heav'n. 365
What past at *Aulis*, *Greece* can witness bear,
And all who live to breathe this *Phrygian* air.
Beside a fountain's sacred brink we rais'd
Our verdant altars, and the victims blaz'd ;
('Twas where the plane-tree spread its shades
around) 370

The altars heav'd ; and from the crumbling ground
A mighty dragon shot, of dire portent ;
From *Jove* himself the dreadful sign was sent,

Strait to the tree his sanguine spires he roll'd,
 And curl'd around in many a winding fold. 375
 The topmost branch a mother-bird possess'd;
 Eight callow infants fill'd the mossy nest;
 Herself the ninth; the serpent as he hung,
 Stretch'd his black jaws, and crash'd the crying
 young;

While hov'ring near, with miserable moan, 380
 The drooping mother wail'd her children gone.
 The mother last, as round the nest she flew,
 Seiz'd by the beating wing, the monster flew:
 Nor long surviv'd; to marble turn'd he stands
 A lasting prodigy on *Aulis'* sands. 385
 Such was the will of *Jove*; and hence we dare
 Trust in his omen, and support the war.
 For while around we gaze with wond'ring
 eyes,

And trembling fought the pow'rs with sacrifice,
 Full of his God, the rev'rend *Chalcas* cry'd, 390
 Ye *Grecian* warriors! lay your fears aside.
 This wond'rous signal *Jove* himself displays,
 Of long, long labours, but eternal praise.

As many birds as by the snake were slain,
 So many years the toils of *Greece* remain; 395
 But wait the tenth, for *Ilion's* fall decreed :
 Thus spoke the Prophet, thus the fates succeed.
 Obey, ye *Grecians* ! with submission wait,
 Nor let your flight avert the *Trojan* fate. 399

He said : the shores with loud applauses found,
 The hollow ships each deaf'ning shout rebound.
 Then *Nestor* thus — These vain debates forbear,
 Ye talk like children, not like heroes dare.

§. 402. *Then Nestor thus.*] Nothing is more observable than *Homer's* conduct of this whole incident; by what judicious and well-imagined degrees the army is restrained, and wrought up to the desires of the General. We have given the detail of all the methods *Ulysses* proceeded in: the activity of his character is now to be contrasted with the gravity of *Nestor's*, who covers and strengthens the other's arguments, and constantly appears through the poem a weighty Closer of debates. The *Greeks* had already seen their General give way to his authority, in the dispute with *Achilles* in the former book, and could expect no less than that their stay should be concluded on by *Agamemnon* as soon as *Nestor* undertook that cause. For this was all they imagined his discourse aimed at; but we shall find it had a farther design, from *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. "There are two things (says that excellent "critick) worthy of admiration in the speeches of *Ulysses* and "*Nestor*, which are the different designs they speak with, and "the different applauses they receive. *Ulysses* had the acclamations of the army, and *Nestor* the praise of *Agamemnon*. "One may enquire the reason, why he extols the latter pre-

Where now are all your high resolves at last ? 404

Your leagues concluded, your engagements past ?

“ferably to the former, when all that *Nestor* alledges seems
 “only a repetition of the same arguments which *Ulysses* had
 “given before him : it might be done in encouragement to
 “the old man, in whom it might raise a concern to find his
 “speech not followed with so general an applause as the
 “other’s. But we are to refer the speech of *Nestor* to that
 “part of oratory which seems only to confirm what another
 “has said, and yet superinduces and carries a farther point.
 “*Ulysses* and *Nestor* both compare the *Greeks* to children for
 “their unmanly desire to return home ; they both reproach
 “them with the engagements and vows they had past, and
 “were now about to break ; they both alledge the prosperous
 “signs and omens received from heaven. Notwithstanding
 “this, the end of their orations is very different. *Ulysses*’s
 “business was to detain the *Grecians* when they were upon
 “the point of flying ; *Nestor* finding that work done to his
 “hands, designed to draw them instantly to battle. This
 “was the utmost *Agamemnon* had aimed at, which *Nestor*’s
 “artifice brings to pass ; for while they imagine by all he
 “says that he is only persuading them to stay, they find them-
 “selves unawares put into order of battle, and led under their
 “Princes to fight.” *Dion. Hal. ἐπὶ ἰσχυραῖσιν, Part I*
and 2.

We may next take notice of some particulars of this speech : where he says they lose their time in *empty words*, he hints at the dispute between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* : where he speaks of those who *deserted the Grecian cause*, he glances at *Achilles* in particular. When he represents *Helen* in affliction and tears, he removes the odium from the person in whose cause they were to fight ; and when he moves *Agamemnon* to advise with his council, artfully prepares for a reception of his own advice by that modest way of proposing it. As for the advice itself, to divide the army into bodies, each of which should be composed entirely of men of the same country ; nothing

Vow'd with libations and with victims then,
 Now vanish'd like their smoke : the faith of men !
 While useless words consume th' unactive hours,
 No wonder *Troy* so long resists our pow'rs.

^ Rise, great *Atrides* ! and with courage sway ; 410
 We march to war if thou direct the way.

But leave the few that dare resist thy laws,
 The mean deserters of the *Grecian* cause,
 To grudge the conquests mighty *Jove* prepares,
 And view, with envy, our successful wars. 415
 On that great day when first the martial train,
 Big with the fate of *Ilion*, plow'd the main ;

could be better judged both in regard to the present circumstance, and with an eye to the future carrying on of the war. For the first, its immediate effect was to take the whole army out of its tumult, break whatever cabals they might have formed together by separating them into a new division, and cause every single mutineer to come instantly under the view of his own proper officer for correction. For the second, it was to be thought the army would be much strengthened by this union : those of different nations who had different aims, interests and friendships, could not assist each other with so much zeal, or so well concur to the same end, as when friends aided friends, kinsmen their kinsmen, &c. when each commander had the glory of his own nation in view, and a greater emulation was excited between body and body ; as not only warring for the honour of *Greece* in general, but for that of every distinct *State* in particular,

Jove, on the right, a prosp'rous signal sent,
 And thunder rolling shook the firmament. 419
 Encourag'd hence, maintain the glorious strife,
 'Till ev'ry soldier grasp a *Phrygian* wife,
 'Till *Helen's* woes at full reveng'd appear,
 And *Troy's* proud matrons render tear for tear.
 Before that day, if any *Greek* invite
 His country's troops to base, inglorious flight; 425
 Stand forth that *Greek*! and hoist his sail to fly,
 And die the dastard first, who dreads to die.
 But now, O Monarch! all thy Chiefs advise:
 Nor what they offer, thou thyself despise.
 Among those counsels, let not mine be vain; 430
 In tribes and nations to divide thy train:
 His sep'rate troops let ev'ry leader call,
 Each strengthen each, and all encourage all.
 What chief, or soldier, of the num'rous band,
 Or bravely fights, or ill obeys command, 435
 When thus distinct they war, shall soon be known,
 And what the cause of *Ilion* not o'erthrown;
 If fate resists, or if our arms are slow,
 If Gods above prevent, or men below.

To him the King: How much thy years

excel 440

In arts of council, and in speaking well!

O would the Gods, in love to Greece, decree

But ten such fages as they grant in thee;

§. 440. *How much thy years excel.*] Every one has observed how glorious an elogium of wisdom *Homer* has here given, where *Agamemnon* so far prefers it to valour, as to wish not for ten *Ajax's*, or *Achilles's*, but only for ten *Nestor's*. For the rest of this speech, *Dionysius* has summed it up as follows. “*Agamemnon* being now convinced the *Greeks* were “offended at him, on account of the departure of *Achilles*, “pacifies them by a generous confession of his fault; but then “asserts the character of a supreme Ruler, and with the air “of command threatens the disobedient.” I cannot conclude this part of the speeches without remarking how beautifully they rise above one another, and how they more and more awaken the spirit of war in the *Grecians*. In this last there is a wonderful fire and vivacity, when he prepares them for the glorious toils they were to undergo by a warm and lively description of them. The repetition of the words in that part has a beauty, which (as well as many others of the same kind) has been lost by most translators.

Εὖ μὲν τις δόρυ στήθεσσι, εὖ δ' ἀσπίδα θίσσῃ,

Εὖ δὲ τις ἵπποισιν δυνάμει δότω ἀκυρόδισσιν,

Εὖ δὲ τις ἄρμαλος ἀμφὶς ἰδὼν ———

I cannot but believe *Milton* had this passage in his eye in that of his sixth book.

— — — — Let each

His adamantine coat gird well; and each

Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orb'd shield, &c.

Such wisdom soon should *Priam's* force destroy,
And soon should fall the haughty tow'rs of
Troy! 445

But *Jove* forbids, who plunges those he hates
In fierce contention and in vain debates.

Now great *Achilles* from our aid withdraws,
By me provok'd; a captive maid the cause:
If e'er as friends we join, the *Trojan* wall 450
Must shake, and heavy will the vengeance
fall!

But now, ye warriors, take a short repast;
And, well-refresh'd, to bloody conflict haste.
His sharpen'd spear let ev'ry *Grecian* wield,
And ev'ry *Grecian* fix his brazen shield, 455
Let all excite the fiery steeds of war,
And all for combat fit the ratling car.

'This day, this dreadful day, let each contend;
No rest, no respite, 'till the shades descend;
'Till darkness, or 'till death, shall cover all: 460
Let the war bleed, and let the mighty fall!
'Till bath'd in sweat be ev'ry manly breast,
With the huge shield each brawny arm deprest,

Each aking nerve refuse the lance to throw,
 And each spent courser at the chariot blow. 465
 Who dares, inglorious, in his ships to stay,
 Who dares to tremble on this signal day;
 That wretch, too mean to fall by martial pow'r,
 The birds shall mangle, and the dogs devour.

The monarch spoke; and strait a murmur
 rose, 470

Loud as the surges when the tempest blows,
 That dash'd on broken rocks tumultuous roar,
 And foam and thunder on the stony shore.
 Strait to the tents the troops dispersing bend;
 The fires are kindled, and the smokes ascend; 475
 With hasty feasts they sacrifice, and pray
 T' avert the dangers of the doubtful day.
 A steer of five year's age, large limb'd, and
 fed,

To *Jove's* high altars *Agamemnon* led:
 There bade the noblest of the *Grecian* Peers; 480
 And *Nestor* first, as most advanc'd in years.
 Next came *Idomeneus*, and *Tydeus'* son,
Ajax the less, and *Ajax Telamon*;

Then wise *Ulysses* in his rank was plac'd;
 And *Menelaüs* came unbid, the last. 485
 The Chiefs furround the destin'd beast, and
 take

The sacred off'ring of the salted cake:
 When thus the King prefers his solemn pray'r,
 Oh thou! whose thunder rends the clouded air,
 Who in the heav'n of heav'ns has fix'd thy throne,
 Supreme of Gods! unbounded, and alone! 491
 Hear! and before the burning sun descends,
 Before the night her gloomy veil extends,
 Low in the dust be laid yon' hostile spires,
 Be *Priam's* palace sunk in *Grecian* fires, 495
 In *Hector's* breast be plung'd this shining sword,
 And slaughter'd Heroes groan around their Lord!

ψ. 485. *And Menelaus came unbid.*] The criticks have entered into a warm dispute, whether *Menelaus* was in the right or in the wrong, in coming uninvited: some maintaining it the part of an impertinent or a fool to intrude upon another man's table; and others insisting upon the privilege a brother or a kinsman may claim in this case. The *English* reader had not been troubled with the translation of this word *Ἀνέπαλος*, but that *Plato* and *Plutarch* have taken notice of the passage. The verse following this, in most editions, "Ἦδη γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν, &c. being rejected as spurious by *Demetrius Phalereus*, is omitted here upon his authority.

Thus pray'd the Chief: his unavailing pray'r
 Great *Jove* refus'd, and tost in empty air:
 The God averse, while yet the fumes arose, 500
 Prepar'd new toils, and doubled woes on woes.
 Their pray'rs perform'd, the Chiefs the rite pursue,
 The barley sprinkled, and the victim flew.
 The limbs they sever from th' inclosing hide,
 The thighs, selected to the Gods, divide. 505
 On these, in double cauls involv'd with art,
 The choicest morsels lie from ev'ry part.
 From the cleft wood the crackling flames aspire,
 While the fat victims feed the sacred fire.
 The thighs thus sacrific'd, and entrails drest, 510
 Th' assistants part, transfix, and roast the rest;
 Then spread the tables, the repast prepare,
 Each takes his seat, and each receives his share.
 Soon as the rage of hunger was suppress'd,
 The gen'rous *Nestor* thus the Prince address'd. 515
 Now bid thy heralds sound the loud alarms,
 And call the squadrons sheath'd in brazen arms:
 Now seize th' occasion, now the troops survey,
 And lead to war when heav'n directs the way.

He said; the monarch issu'd his commands; 520
 Strait the loud heralds call the gath'ring bands.
 The chiefs inclose their King; the hosts divide,
 In tribes and nations rank'd on either side.
 High in the midst the blue-ey'd Virgin flies;
 From rank to rank she darts her ardent eyes: 525
 The dreadful *Ægis*, *Jove's* immortal shield,
 Blaz'd on her arm, and lighten'd all the field:
 Round the vast orb an hundred serpents roll'd,
 Form'd the bright fringe, and seem'd to burn in
 gold. 529

†. 526. *The dreadful Ægis, Jove's immortal shield.*] *Homer* does not expressly call it a shield in this place, but it is plain from several other passages that it was so. In the fifth *Iliad*, this *Ægis* is described with a sublimity that is inexpressible. The figure of the *Gorgon's* head upon it is there specified, which will justify the mention of the serpents in the translation here: the verses are remarkably sonorous in the original. The image of the Goddess of battles blazing with her immortal shield before the army, inspiring every Hero, and assisting to range the troops, is agreeable to the bold painting of our author. And the encouragement of a divine power seemed no more than was requisite, to change so totally the dispositions of the *Grecians*, as to make them now more ardent for the combat than they were before desirous of a return. This finishes the conquest of their inclinations, in a manner at once wonderfully poetical, and correspondent to the moral which is every where spread through *Homer*, that nothing is entirely brought about but by the divine assistance.

With this each *Grecian's* manly breast she warms,
 Swells their bold hearts, and strings their nervous
 arms ;

No more they sigh, inglorious to return,
 But breathe revenge, and for the combat burn.

As on some mountain, thro' the lofty grove,
 The crackling flames ascend, and blaze above ;
 The fires expanding as the winds arise, 536
 Shoot their long beams, and kindle half the skies :
 So from the polish'd arms, and brazen shields,
 A gleamy splendour flash'd along the fields.

ψ. 534. *As on some mountain, &c.*] The imagination of *Homer* was so vast and so lively, that whatsoever objects presented themselves before him, impressed their images so forcibly, that he poured them forth in comparisons equally simple and noble ; without forgetting any circumstance which could instruct the reader, and make him see those objects in the same strong light wherein he saw them himself. And in this one of the principal beauties of poetry consists. *Homer*, on the sight of the march of this numerous army, gives us five similes in a breath, but all entirely different. The first regards the splendour of their armour, as a fire, &c. The second the various movements of so many thousands before they can range themselves in battle array, like the swans, &c. The third respects their number, as the leaves or flowers, &c. The fourth the ardour with which they run to the combat, like the legions of insects, &c. And the fifth the obedience and exact discipline of the troops, ranged without confusion under their leaders, as flocks under their shepherds. This fecundity and variety can never be enough admired. *Dacier.*

Not less their number than th' embody'd cranes,
Or milk-white swans in *Asius*' watry plains, 541

‡. 541. Or milk-white swans on *Asius*' watry plains.] Scaliger, who is seldom just to our author, yet confesses these verses to be *plenissima neētaris*. But he is greatly mistaken when he accuses this simile of impropriety, on the supposition that a number of birds flying without order are here compared to an army ranged in array of battle. On the contrary, *Homer* in this expresses the stir and tumult the troops were in, before they got into order, running together from the ships and tents: Νῆών ἄπο, καὶ κλισιάων. But when they are placed in their ranks, he compares them to the flocks under their shepherds. This distinction will plainly appear from the detail of the five similes in the foregoing note.

Virgil has imitated this with great happiness in his seventh *Æneid*.

“ Ceu quondam nivei liquida inter nubila cycni
“ Cùm sese è pastu referunt, & longa canoros
“ Dant per colla modos, sonat amnis & *Asia* longè
“ Pulsa palus” —————

Like a long team of snowy swans on high,
Which clap their wings and cleave the liquid sky,
When homeward from their watry pastures born,
They sing, and *Asia*'s lakes their notes return.

Mr. *Dryden* in this place has mistaken *Asius* for *Asia*, which *Virgil* took care to distinguish by making the first syllable of *Asius* long, as of *Asia* short. Though (if we believe *Madam Dacier*) he was himself in an error, both here and in the first *Georgic*.

“ — — — Quæ *Asia* circum
“ Dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri.”

For she will not allow that 'Ασίω can be a Patronymic adjective, but the genitive of a proper name, 'Ασίω, which being turned into

That o'er the windings of *Cayster's* springs,
Stretch their long necks, and clap their rustling
wings,

Now tow'r aloft, and course in airy rounds;
Now light with noise; with noise the field re-
founds. 545

Thus num'rous and confus'd, extending wide,
The legions croud *Scamander's* flow'ry side;
With rushing troops the plains are cover'd o'er,
And thund'ring footsteps shake the founding shore.
Along the river's level meads they stand, 550
Thick as in spring the flow'rs adorn the land,
Or leaves the trees; or thick as insects play,
The wandering nation of a summer's day.

Ionic is 'Ασιώ, and by a *Syncope* makes 'Ασιω. This puts me in mind of another criticism upon the 290th verse of this book: 'tis observed that *Virgil* uses *Inarime* for *Arime*, as if he had read *Ἰνάρημος*, instead of *Εἰς Ἀρήμος*. *Scaliger* ridicules this trivial remark, and asks if it can be imagined that *Virgil* was ignorant of the name of a place so near him as *Baiæ*? It is indeed unlucky for good writers, that men who have learning, should lay a stress upon such trifles; and that those who have none, should think it learning to do so.

† 552. *Or thick as insects play.*] This simile translated literally runs thus; *As the numerous troops of flies about a shepherd's cottage in the spring, when the milk moistens the pails; such numbers of Greeks stood in the field against the Trojans, desiring*

That drawn by milky steams, at ev'ning hours,
 In gather'd swarms surround the rural bow'rs; 555
 From pail to pail with busy murmur run
 The gilded legions, glitt'ring in the sun.
 So throng'd, so close, the *Grecian* squadrons stood
 In radiant arms, and thirst for *Trojan* blood.

their destruction. The lowness of this image, in comparison with those which precede it, will naturally shock a modern critick, and would scarce be forgiven in a poet of these times. The utmost a translator can do is to heighten the expression, so as to render the disparity less observable: which is endeavoured here, and in other places. If this be done successfully, the reader is so far from being offended at a low idea, that it raises his surprise to find it grown great in the poet's hands, of which we have frequent instances in *Virgil's Georgicks*. Here follows another of the same kind, in the simile of *Agamemnon* to a *Bull*, just after he has been compared to *Jove*, *Mars*, and *Neptune*. This, *Eustathius* tells us, was blamed by some criticks, and Mr. *Hobbes* has left it out in his translation. The liberty has been taken here to place the humbler simile first, reserving the noble one as a more magnificent close of the description: the bare turning the sentence removes the objection. *Milton*, who was a close imitator of our author, has often copied him in these humble comparisons. He has not scrupled to insert one in the midst of that pompous description of the rout of the rebel angels in the sixth book, where the Son of God in all his dreadful Majesty is represented pouring his vengeance upon them;

— — — — — As a herd
 Of goats, or tim'rous flocks together throng'd,
 Drove them before him thunder-struck ———

Each leader now his scatter'd force conjoins, 560
In close array, and forms the deep'ning lines.

Not with more ease, the skilful shepherd swain
Collects his flocks from thousands on the plain.

The King of Kings, majestically tall, 564

Tow'rs o'er his armies, and outshines them all :

Like some proud Bull that round the pastures leads

His subject-herds, the Monarch of the meads.

Great as the Gods, th' exalted Chief was seen,

His strength like *Neptune*, and like *Mars* his mien,

Jove o'er his eyes celestial glories spread, 570

And dawning conquest play'd around his head.

Say, Virgins, seated round the throne divine,
All-knowing Goddesses ! immortal Nine !

‡. 568. *Great as the Gods.*] *Homer* here describes the figure and port of *Agamemnon* with all imaginable grandeur, in making him appear cloathed with the majesty of the greatest of the Gods ; and when *Plutarch* (in his second oration of the fortune of *Alexander*) blamed the comparison of a man to three deities at once, that censure was not passed upon *Homer* as a Poet, but by *Plutarch* as a Priest. This character of Majesty, in which *Agamemnon* excels all the other Heroes, is preserved in the different views of him throughout the *Iliad*. It is thus he appears on his ship in the catalogue ; thus he shines in the eyes of *Priam* in the third book ; thus again in the beginning of the eleventh ; and so in the rest.

‡. 572. *Say, Virgins.*] It is hard to conceive any address more solemn, any opening to a subject more noble and mag-

Since earth's wide regions, heav'n's unmeasur'd
height, 574

And hell's abyfs, hide nothing from your fight,
(We, wretched mortals! loft in doubts below,
But guefs by rumour, and but boast we know)
Oh fay what Heroes, fir'd by thirft of fame,
Or urg'd by wrongs, to *Troy's* deftru&tion came?
To count them all, demands a thoufand tongues,
A throat of brafs and adamantine lungs. 581

Daughters of *Jove* affift! inspir'd by you
The mighty labour dauntlefs I purfue :
What crouded armies, from what climes they
bring,

Their names, their numbers, and their Chiefs I
fing. 585

nificent, than this invocation of *Homer* before his catalogue. That omniprefence he gives to the Mufes, their poft in the higheft Heaven, their comprehensive furvey through the whole extent of the creation, are circumftances greatly imagined. Nor is any thing more perfectly fine, or exquisitely moral, than the oppofition of the extenfive knowledge of the divinities on the one fide, to the blindnefs and ignorance of mankind on the other. The greatnefs and importance of his fubject is highly raifed by his exalted manner of declaring the difficulty of it, *Not tho' my lungs were brafs, &c.* and by the air he gives, as if what follows were immediately infpired, and no lefs than the joint labour of all the Mufes.

The CATALOGUE of the SHIPS.

THE hardy warriors whom *Bæotia* bred,
Penelios, *Leitus*, *Prothoënor* led :

With these *Arcefilaus* and *Clonius* stand,
 Equal in arms, and equal in command.

These head the troops that rocky *Aulis* yields, 590
 And *Eteon's* hills, and *Hyrie's* watry fields,
 And *Schænos*, *Scholos*, *Græa* near the main,
 And *Mycaleffia's* ample piny plain.

Those who in *Peteon* or *Ilesion* dwell,
 Or *Harma* where *Apollè's* Prophet fell ; 595

†. 586. *The hardy warriors.*] The catalogue begins in this place, which I forbear to treat of at present: only I must acknowledge here that the translation has not been exactly punctual to the order in which *Homer* places his towns. However it has not trespassed against Geography; the transpositions I mention being no other than such minute ones, as *Strabo* confesses the author himself is not free from: 'Ο δὲ Ποιητὴς γὰρ αὐτὸν χωρὰς λίγει *Cynchōs*, ὥσπερ καὶ καίται. Οἳ δ' ὕμνῳ ἐνέμοιστο, καὶ Αὐλῆδα, &c. "Ἄλλο τι δ' ἔχ' ὡς ἐστὶ τῇ τάξει, Σκαῖον τι Σκόλον τε, Θίσπιαν Γραιῶν τε. lib. 8. There is not to my remembrance any place throughout this catalogue omitted; a liberty which Mr. *Dryden* has made no difficulty to take, and to confess, in his *Virgil*. But a more scrupulous care was owing to *Homer*, on account of that wonderful exactness and unequalled diligence, which he has particularly shewn in this part of his work.

Heleon and *Hylè*, which the springs o'erflow;
 And *Medeon* lofty, and *Ocalea* low;
 Or in the meads of *Haliartus* stray,
 Or *Thespia* sacred to the God of Day.
Onchestus, *Neptune's* celebrated groves; 600
Copæ, and *Thibè*, fam'd for silver doves,
 For flocks *Erythræ*, *Gliffa* for the vine;
Platea green, and *Nisa* the divine.
 And they whom *Thebè's* well-built walls enclose,
 Where *Mydè*, *Eutresis*, *Coronè* rose; 605
 And *Arnè* rich, with purple harvests crown'd;
 And *Anthedon*, *Bæotia's* utmost bound.
 Full fifty ships they send, and each conveys,
 Twice sixty warriors thro' the foaming seas.

To these succeed *Aspledon's* martial train, 610
 Who plow the spacious *Orebomenian* plain.
 Two valiant brothers rule the undaunted throng,
Iälmen and *Ascalaphus* the strong:
 Sons of *Astyoche*, the heav'nly fair,
 Whose virgin charms subdu'd the God of War:
 (In *Actor's* court as she retir'd to rest, 616
 The strength of *Mars* the blushing maid compress)

Their troops in thirty sable vessels sweep
 With equal oars, the hoarse-resounding deep.

The *Phocians* next in forty barks repair, 620
Epistrophus and *Schedius* head the war.

From those rich regions where *Cepheissus* leads
 His silver current thro' the flow'ry meads ;

From *Panopæa*, *Chrysa* the divine, 625
 Where *Anemoria's* stately turrets shine,

Where *Pytho*, *Daulis*, *Cyparissus* stood,
 And fair *Lilæa* views the rising flood.

These rang'd in order on the floating tide,
 Close, on the left, the bold *Bæotians* fide.

Fierce *Ajax* led the *Locrian* squadrons on, 630
Ajax the less, *Oileus'* valiant son ;

Skill'd to direct the flying dart aright ;
 Swift in pursuit, and active in the fight.

Him, as their Chief, the chosen troops attend,
 Which *Bessa*, *Thronus*, and rich *Cynos* send : 635

Opus, *Calliarus*, and *Scarphe's* bands ;
 And those who dwell where pleasing *Augia* stands,
 And where *Boëgrius* floats the lowly lands, }

Or in fair *Tarphe's* sylvan seats reside;
 In forty vessels cut the yielding tide. 640
Eubæa next her martial sons prepares,
 And sends the brave *Abantes* to the wars:
 Breathing revenge, in arms they take their way
 From *Chalcis'* walls, and strong *Eretria*;
 Th' *Isteian* fields, for gen'rous vines renown'd, 645
 The fair *Caristos*, and the *Styrian* ground;
 Where *Dios* from her tow'rs o'erlooks the plain,
 And high *Cerintus* views the neighb'ring main.
 Down their broad shoulders falls a length of
 hair;
 Their hands dismiss not the long lance in air; 650

†. 649. *Down their broad shoulders, &c.*] The Greek has it ἄνδρες κομόωντες, à tergo comantes. It was the custom of these people to shave the fore-part of their heads, which they did that their enemies might not take the advantage of seizing them by the hair: the hinder-part they let grow, as a valiant race that would never turn their backs. Their manner of fighting was hand to hand, without quitting their javelins (in the manner of our pike-men). *Plutarch* tells us this in the life of *Theseus*, and cites, to strengthen the authority of *Homer*, some verses of *Archilochus* to the same effect. *Eobanus Hessus*, who translated *Homer* into Latin verse, was therefore mistaken in his version of this passage.

“ Præcipuè jaculatores, hastamque periti
 “ Vibrare, & longis contingere pectora telis.”

But with portended spears in fighting fields,
 Pierce the tough cors'lets and the brazen shields.
 Twice twenty ships transport the warlike bands,
 Which bold *Elphenor*, fierce in arms, commands.

Full fifty more from *Athens* stem the main, 655
 Led by *Menestheus* thro' the liquid plain,

(*Athens* the fair, where great *Eretheus* sway'd,
 That ow'd his nurture to the blue-ey'd maid,
 But from the teeming furrow took his birth,
 The mighty offspring of the foodful earth. 660

Him *Pallas* plac'd amidst her wealthy fane,
 Ador'd with sacrifice and oxen slain;
 Where as the years revolve, her altars blaze,
 And all the tribes resound the Goddess' praise)
 No Chief like thee, *Menestheus*! *Greece* could yield,
 To marshal armies in the dusty field, 666

Th' extended wings of battle to display,
 Or close th' embody'd host in firm array.
Nestor alone, improv'd by length of days,
 For martial conduct bore an equal praise. 670

With these appear the *Salaminian* bands,
 Whom the gigantic *Telamon* commands;

In twelve black ships to *Troy* they steer their
course,

And with the great *Atbenians* join their force.

Next move to war the gen'rous *Argive* train,
From high *Træzenè*, and *Mafeta's* plain, 676
And fair *Ægina* circled by the main :

Whom strong *Tyrinthe's* lofty walls surround,

And *Epidaur* with viny harvests crown'd :

And where fair *Afinen* and *Hermion* show 680

Their cliffs above, and ample bay below.

These by the brave *Euryalus* were led,

Great *Stbenelus*, and greater *Diomed*,

But chief *Tydides* bore the sov'reign sway ;

In fourscore barks they plow the watry way. 685

The proud *Mycenè* arms her martial pow'rs,

Cleonè, *Corinth*, with imperial tow'rs,

Fair *Aræthyrea*, *Ornia's* fruitful plain,

And *Ægion*, and *Adrastus'* ancient reign ;

And those who dwell along the sandy shore, 690

And where *Pellenè* yields her fleecy store,

Where *Helicè* and *Hyperesia* lie,

And *Gonoëssa's* spires salute the sky.

Great *Agamemnon* rules the num'rous band,
 A hundred vessels in long order stand, 695
 And crouded nations wait his dread command. }

High on the deck the King of men appears,
 And his refulgent arms in triumph wears;
 Proud of his host, unrival'd in his reign,
 In silent pomp he moves along the main. 700

His brother follows, and to vengeance warms
 The hardy *Spartans*, exercis'd in arms:

Phæres and *Bryfia's* valiant troops, and those
 Whom *Lacedæmon's* lofty hills inclose:

Or *Messe's* tow'rs for silver doves renown'd, 705

Amyclæ, *Laäs*, *Augia's* happy ground,

And those whom *Oetylos'* low walls contain,

And *Helos*, on the margin of the main:

These, o'er the bending ocean, *Helen's* cause,

In sixty ships with *Menelaiüs* draws: 710

Eager and loud from man to man he flies,

Revenge and fury flaming in his eyes;

†. 711. *Eager and loud from man to man he flies.*] The figure *Menelous* makes in this place is remarkably distinguished from the rest, and sufficient to shew his concern in the war was personal, while the others acted only for interest or glory

While vainly fond, in fancy oft he hears
The fair-one's grief, and sees her falling tears.

In ninety sail, from *Pylos*' sandy coast, 715

Nestor the sage conducts his chosen host:

From *Amphigenia*'s ever-fruitful land;

Where *Æpy* high, and little *Pteleon* stand;

Where beauteous *Arenè* her structures shows,

And *Thryon*'s walls *Alpheus*' streams inclose: 720

And *Dorion*, fam'd for *Thamyris*' disgrace,

Superiour once of all the tuneful race,

in general. No leader in all the list is represented thus eager and passionate; he is louder than them all in his exhortations; more active in running among the troops; and inspirited with the thoughts of revenge, which he still encreases with the secret imagination of *Helen*'s repentance. This behaviour is finely imagined.

The epithet *βῆν ἀγὰρ*, which is applied in this and other places to *Menelaus*, and which literally signifies *loud-voiced*, is made by the Commentators to mean *valiant*, and translated *bello strenuus*. The reason given by *Eustathius* is, that a loud voice is a mark of strength, the usual effect of fear being to cut short the respiration. I own this seems to be forced, and rather believe it was one of those kind of surnames given from some distinguishing quality of the person (as that of a loud voice might belong to *Menelaus*) which *Mons. Boileau* mentions in his ninth reflection upon *Longinus*; in the same manner as some of our Kings were called *Edward Long-shanks*, *William Rufus*, &c. But however it be, the epithet taken in the literal sense has a beauty in this verse from the circumstance *Menelaus* is described in, which determined the translator to use it.

'Till vain of mortals empty praise, he strove
 To match the seed of cloud-compelling *Jove*!
 Too daring bard! whose unsuccessful pride 725
 Th' immortal *Muses* in their art defy'd.
 Th' avenging *Muses* of the light of day
 Depriv'd his eyes, and snatch'd his voice away;
 No more his heav'nly voice was heard to sing,
 His hand no more awak'd the silver string. 730

Where under high *Cyllenè*, crown'd with wood,
 The shaded tomb of old *Æpytus* stood;
 From *Ripè*, *Stratie*, *Tegea*'s bordering towns,
 The *Pbenean* fields, and *Orchomenian* downs,
 Where the fat herds in plenteous pasture rove;
 And *Stymphelus* with her surrounding grove, 736
Parrhasia, on her snowy cliffs reclin'd,
 And high *Enispè* shook by wintry wind,
 And fair *Mantineæ*'s ever-pleasing site;
 In sixty sail th' *Arcadian* bands unite. 740
 Bold *Agapenor*, glorious at their head,
 (*Ancaus*' son) the mighty squadron led.
 Their ships, supply'd by *Agamemnon*'s care,
 Thro' roaring seas the wond'ring warriors bear;

The first to battle on th' appointed plain, 745
But new to all the dangers of the main.

Those, where fair *Elis* and *Buprasium* join;
Whom *Hyrmin*, here, and *Myrsinus* confine,
And bounded there, where o'er the valleys rose
Th' *Olenian* rock; and where *Alisium* flows; 750
Beneath four chiefs (a num'rous army) came:
The strength and glory of th' *Epean* name.

In sep'rate squadrons these their train divide,
Each leads ten vessels thro' the yielding tide.
One was *Amphimachus*, and *Thalpius* one; 755
(*Eurytus*' this, and that *Teätus*' son)

Diores sprung from *Amarynceus*' line;
And great *Polyxenus*, of force divine.

But those who view fair *Elis* o'er the seas
From the blest Islands of th' *Echinades*, 760

ψ. 746. *New to all the dangers of the main.*] The *Arcadians* being an inland people were unskilled in navigation, for which reason *Agamemnon* furnished them with shipping. From hence, and from the last line of the description of the sceptre, where he is said to preside over many islands, *Thucydides* takes occasion to observe that the power of *Agamemnon* was superior to the rest of the Princes of *Greece*, on account of his naval forces, which had rendered him master of the sea. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

In forty vessels under *Meges* move,
 Begot by *Phyleus* the belov'd of *Jove*.
 To strong *Dulichium* from his fire he fled,
 And thence to *Troy* his hardy warriors led.

Ulysses follow'd thro' the watry road, 765
 A chief, in wisdom equal to a God.
 With those whom *Cephalenia's* isle inclos'd,
 Or till their fields along the coast oppos'd;
 Or where fair *Ithaca* o'erlooks the floods,
 Where high *Neritos* shakes his waving woods,
 Where *Ægilipa's* rugged fides are seen, 771
Crocylia rocky, and *Zacynthus* green.

These in twelve galleys with vermillion proes,
 Beneath his conduct fought the *Phrygian* shores.

Thoas came next, *Andraemon's* valiant son, 775
 From *Pleuron's* walls, and chalky *Calydon*,
 And rough *Pylenè*, and th' *Olenian* steep,
 And *Cbalcis* beaten by the rolling deep.
 He led the warriors from th' *Ætolian* shore,
 For now the sons of *Oeneus* were no more! 780
 The glories of the mighty race were fled!
Oeneus himself, and *Meleager* dead!

To *Thoas*' care now trust the martial train,
His forty vessels follow thro' the main.

Next eighty barks the *Cretan* king commands,
Of *Gnossus*, *Lyctus*, and *Gortyna*'s bands, 786
And those who dwell where *Rhytion*'s domes arise,
Or white *Lycastrus* glitters to the skies,
Or where by *Phaestus* silver *Jardan* runs;
Crete's hundred cities pour forth all her sons. 790
These march'd, *Idomeneus*, beneath thy care,
And *Merion*, dreadful as the God of war.

Tlepolemus, the son of *Hercules*,
Led nine swift vessels thro' the foamy seas;
From *Rhodes* with everlasting sunshine bright, 795
Jalyssus, *Lindus*, and *Camirus* white.
His captive mother fierce *Alcides* bore,
From *Ephyr*'s walls, and *Selle*'s winding shore,
Where mighty towns in ruins spread the plain,
And saw their blooming warriors early slain. 800
The Hero, when to manly years he grew,
Alcides' uncle, old *Licymnius*, slew;
For this, constrain'd to quit his native place,
And shun the vengeance of th' *Herculean* race,

A fleet he built, and with a num'rous train, 805
 Of willing exiles, wander'd o'er the main;
 Where many seas, and many suff'rings past,
 On happy *Rhodes* the chief arriv'd at last:
 There in three tribes divides his native band,
 And rules them peaceful in a foreign land; 810
 Encreas'd and prosper'd in their new abodes,
 By mighty *Jove*, the fire of men and Gods;
 With joy they saw the growing empire rise,
 And show'rs of wealth descending from the skies.

Three ships with *Nireus* fought the *Trojan* shore,
Nireus, whom *Aglæ* to *Charopus* bore, 816

§. 815. *Three ships with Nireus.*] This leader is nowhere mentioned but in these lines, and is an exception to the observation of *Macrobius*, that all the persons of the catalogue make their appearance afterwards in the poem. *Homer* himself gives us the reason, because *Nireus* had but a small share of worth and valour; his Quality only gave him a privilege to be named among men. The poet has caused him to be remembered no less than *Achilles* or *Ulysses*, but yet in no better manner than he deserved, whose only qualification was his Beauty: 'tis by a bare repetition of his name three times, which just leaves some impression of him on the mind of the reader. Many others, of as trivial memory as *Nireus*, have been preserved by Poets from oblivion; but few Poets have ever done this favour to want of merit, with so much judgment. *Demetrius Phalereus* *ἐπιτ. Ερμηνίας, sect. 61.* takes notice of this beautiful repetition, which in a just deference to so delicate a Critick is here preserved in the translation.

Nireus, in faultless shape and blooming grace,
 The loveliest youth of all the *Grecian* race;
Pelides only match'd his early charms; 819
 But few his troops, and small his strength in arms.

Next thirty galleys cleave the liquid plain,
 Of those *Calydnæ's* sea-girt isles contain;
 With them the youth of *Nisyros* repair,
Cafus the strong, and *Crapathus* the fair;
Cos, where *Eurypylus* possesseth the sway, 825
 'Till great *Alcides* made the realms obey:
 These *Antiphus* and bold *Phidippus* bring,
 Sprung from the God by *Thessalus* the King.

Now, Muse, recount *Pelasgic Argos'* pow'rs,
 From *Alos*, *Alopè*, and *Trechin's* tow'rs; 830
 From *Phtbia's* spacious vales; and *Hella*, blest
 With female beauty far beyond the rest.
 Full fifty ships beneath *Achilles'* care,
 Th' *Achaïans*, *Myrmidons*, *Hellenians* bear;
Thessalians all, tho' various in their name; 835
 The same their nation, and their chief the same.
 But now inglorious, stretch'd along the shore,
 They hear the brazen voice of war no more;

No more the foe they face in dire array :

Close in his fleet the angry leader lay ; 849

Since fair *Briseïs* from his arms was torn,

The noblest spoil from sack'd *Lyrnessus* borne,

Then, when the chief the *Theban* walls o'erthrew,

And the bold sons of great *Evenus* flew,

There mourn'd *Achilles*, plung'd in depth of

care, 845

But soon to rise in slaughter, blood, and war,

To these the youth of *Phylacè* succeed,

Itona, famous for her fleecy breed,

And grassy *Pteleon* deck'd with cheerful greens,

The bow'rs of *Ceres*, and the sylvan scenes, 850

Sweet *Pyrrhæus*, with blooming flourets crown'd,

And *Antron's* watry dens, and cavern'd ground,

These own'd as chief *Protesilas* the brave,

Who now lay silent in the gloomy grave :

The first who boldly touch'd the *Trojan* shore, 855

And dy'd a *Phrygian* lancee with *Grecian* gore ;

There lies, far distant from his native plain ;

Unfinish'd, his proud palaces remain,

And his sad consort beats her breast in vain, }

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 137

His troops in forty ships *Podarces* led, 860
Iphiclus' son, and brother to the dead ;
 Nor he unworthy to command the host ;
 Yet still they mourn'd their ancient leader lost.

The men who *Glaphyra*'s fair soil partake,
 Where hills encircle *Bæbe*'s lowly lake, 865
 Where *Phære* hears the neighb'ring waters fall,
 Or proud *Iolcus* lifts her airy wall,
 In ten black ships embark'd for *Ilion*'s shore,
 With bold *Eumelus*, whom *Alceste* bore :
 All *Pelias*' race *Alceste* far outshin'd, 870
 The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.

The troops *Metbone*, or *Tbaumacia* yields,
Olizon's rocks, or *Melibæa*'s fields,
 With *Philoctetes* sail'd, whose matchless art, 874
 From the tough bow directs the feather'd dart.

†. 871. *The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.*] He gives *Alceste* this elogy of the glory of her sex, for her conjugal piety, who died to preserve the life of her husband *Admetus*. *Euripides* has a tragedy on this subject, which abounds in the most masterly strokes of tenderness: in particular the first act, which contains the description of her preparation for death, and of her behaviour in it, can never be enough admired,

Sev'n were his ships; each vessel fifty row,
Skill'd in his science of the dart and bow.

But he lay raging on the *Lemnian* ground,
A pois'nous *Hydra* gave the burning wound;

There groan'd the chief in agonizing pain, 880

Whom *Greece* at length shall wish, nor wish in vain.

His forces *Medon* led from *Lemnos'* shore,

Oileus' son, whom beauteous *Rhena* bore.

Th' *Oechalian* race, in those high tow'rs contain'd, 884

Where once *Eurytus* in proud triumph reign'd,

Or where her humbler turrets *Tricca* rears,

Or where *Itbomè*, rough with rocks, appears;

In thirty sail the sparkling waves divide,

Which *Podalirius* and *Machaon* guide.

To these his skill their * Parent-God imparts, 890

Divine professors of the healing arts.

The bold *Ormenian* and *Asterian* bands

In forty barks *Eurypylus* commands,

Where *Titan* hides his hoary head in snow,

And where *Hyperia's* silver fountains flow. 895

* *Æsculapius*.

Thy troops, *Argissâ*, *Polypætes* leads,
 And *Eleon*, shelter'd by *Olympus'* shades,
Gyrtonè's warriors; and where *Orthè* lies,
 And *Oleösson's* chalky cliffs arise.
 Sprung from *Piritheus* of immortal race, 900
 The fruit of fair *Hippodamè's* embrace,
 (That day, when hurl'd from *Pelion's* cloudy
 head,
 To distant dens the shaggy *Centaurs* fled)
 With *Polypætes* join'd in equal sway
Leonteus leads, and forty ships obey. 905

In twenty sail the bold *Perrhæbians* came
 From *Cyphus*, *Guneus* was their leader's name.

†. 906. In twenty ships the bold *Perrhæbians* came.] I cannot tell whether it be worth observing that, except *Ogilby*, I have not met with one translator who has exactly preserved the number of the ships. *Chapman* puts eighteen under *Eumelus* instead of eleven: *Hobbes* but twenty under *Ascalaphus* and *Ialmen* instead of thirty, and but thirty under *Menelaus* instead of sixty: *Valterre* (the former *French* translator) has given *Agapenor* forty for sixty, and *Nestor* forty for ninety: *Madam Dacier* gives *Nestor* but eighty. I must confess this translation not to have been quite so exact as *Ogilby's*, having cut off one from the number of *Eumelus's* ships, and two from those of *Guneus*: eleven and two and twenty would sound but oddly in *English* verse, and a poem contracts a littleness by insisting on such trivial niceties.

With these the *Enians* join'd, and those who freeze,
Where cold *Dodona* lifts her holy trees ;

Or where the pleasing *Titaresius* glides, 910

And into *Peneus* rolls his easy tides ;

Yet o'er the silver surface pure they flow,

The sacred stream unmix'd with streams below,

Sacred and awful ! From the dark abodes 914

Styx pours them forth, the dreadful oath of Gods !

Last under *Prothous* the *Magnesian* stood,

Prothous the swift, of old *Tentbredon's* blood ;

Who dwell where *Pelion*, crown'd with piny

boughs,

Obscures the glade, and nods his shaggy brows ;

Or where thro' flow'ry *Tempè* *Peneus* stray'd, 920

(The region stretch'd beneath his mighty shade)

In forty fable barks they stemm'd the main ;

Such were the chiefs, and such the *Grecian* train.

Say next, O Muse ! of all *Achaia* breeds, 924

Who bravest fought, or rein'd the noblest steeds ?

†. 925, *Or rein'd the noblest steeds.*] This coupling together the men and horses seems odd enough ; but *Homer* every where treats these noble animals with remarkable regard. We need not wonder at this enquiry, *which were the best horses ?* from

Eumelus' mares were foremost in the chace,
 As eagles fleet, and of *Pheretian* race;
 Bred where *Pieria's* fruitful fountains flow,
 And train'd by him who bears the silver bow. 929
 Fierce in the fight their nostrils breath'd a flame,
 Their height, their colour, and their age the same;
 O'er fields of death they whirl the rapid car,
 And break the ranks, and thunder thro' the war.
Ajax in arms the first renown acquir'd,
 While stern *Achilles* in his wrath retir'd: 935
 (His was the strength that mortal might exceeds,
 And his, th' unrival'd race of heav'nly steeds)
 But *Thetis'* son now shines in arms no more;
 His troops, neglected on the sandy shore,

him, who makes his horses of heavenly extraction as well as his heroes; who makes his warriors address them with speeches, and excite them by all those motives which affect a human breast; who describes them shedding tears of sorrow, and even capable of voice and prophecy: in most of which points *Virgil* has not scrupled to imitate him.

y. 939. *His troops, &c.*] The image in these lines of the amusements of the *Myrmidons*, while *Achilles* detained them from the fight, has an exquisite propriety in it. Though they are not in action, their very diversions are military, and a kind of exercise of arms. The covered chariots and feeding horses, make a natural part of the picture; and nothing is finer than the manly concern of the captains, who as they are

In empty air their sportive jav'lins throw, 940
Or whirl the disk, or bend an idle bow :

Unstain'd with blood his cover'd chariots stand ;
Th' immortal coursers graze along the strand ;
But the brave Chiefs th' inglorious life deplor'd,
And wand'ring o'er the camp, requir'd their Lord.

Now, like a deluge, cov'ring all around, 946
The shining armies sweep along the ground ;
Swift as a flood of fire, when storms arise,
Floats the wide field, and blazes to the skies.

supposed more sensible of glory than the soldiers, take no share in their diversions, but wander sorrowfully round the camp, and lament their being kept from the battle. This difference betwixt the soldiers and the leaders (as *Dacier* observes) is a decorum of the highest beauty. *Milton* has admirably imitated this in the description he gives in his second book of the diversions of the angels during the absence of *Lucifer*.

Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,
Upon the wing, or in swift race contend ;
Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form.

But how nobly and judiciously has he raised the image, in proportion to the nature of those more exalted beings, in that which follows.

Others, with vast *Typhæan* rage more fell,
Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
In whirlwind ; hell scarce holds the wild uproar :

Earth groan'd beneath them; as when angry

Jove, 950

Hurls down the forky lightning from above,

On *Arimè* when he the thunder throws,

And fires *Typhæus* with redoubled blows,

Where *Typhon*, prest beneath the burning load,

Still feels the fury of th' avenging God. 955

But various *Iris*, *Jove's* commands to bear,

Speeds on the wings of winds thro' liquid air;

In *Priam's* porch the *Trojan* chiefs she found,

The old consulting, and the youths around.

‡. 950. *As when angry Jove.*] The comparison preceding this, of a fire which runs through the corn and blazes to heaven, had express'd at once the dazling of their arms and the swiftness of their march. After which *Homer* having mentioned the sound of their feet, superadds another simile, which comprehends both the ideas of the brightness and the noise: for here (says *Eustathius*) the earth appears to burn and groan at the same time. Indeed the first of these similes is so full and so noble, that it scarce seem'd possible to be exceeded by any image drawn from nature. But *Homer* to raise it yet higher, has gone into the marvellous, given a prodigious and supernatural prospect, and brought down *Jupiter* himself, arrayed in all his terrors, to discharge his lightnings and thunders on *Typhæus*. The Poet breaks out into this description with an air of enthusiasm, which greatly heightens the image in general, while it seems to transport him beyond the limits of an exact comparison. And this daring manner is particular to our author above all the ancients, and to *Milton* above all the moderns.

Polites' shape, the monarch's son, she chose, 960
 Who from *Æfetes*' tomb observ'd the foes,
 High on the mound; from whence in prospect
 lay

The fields, the tents, the navy, and the bay.
 In this dissembled form, she hastes to bring
 Th' unwelcome message to the *Phrygian* King. 965

Cease to consult, the time for action calls,
 War, horrid war, approaches to your walls!
 Assembled armies oft' have I beheld;
 But ne'er till now such numbers charg'd a field.
 Thick as autumnal leaves or driving sand, 970
 The moving squadrons blacken all the strand.
 Thou, Godlike *Hector*! all thy force employ,
 Assemble all th' united bands of *Troy*;

In just array let ev'ry leader call 974
 The foreign troops: this day demands them all.

The voice divine the mighty chief alarms;
 The council breaks, the warriors rush to
 arms.

The gates unfolding pour forth all their train,
 Nations on nations fill the dusky plain,

Men, steeds, and chariots shake the trembling
ground; 980

The tumult thickens, and the skies resound.

Amidst the plain in sight of *Ilion* stands

A rising mount, the work of human hands;

(This for *Myrinne's* tomb th' immortals know,

Tho' call'd *Bateia* in the world below) 985

Beneath their chiefs in martial order here;

Th' auxiliar troops and *Trojan* hosts appear.

The godlike *Hector*, high above the rest,

Shakes his huge spear, and nods his plummy

crest:

In throngs around his native bands repair, 990

And groves of lances glitter in the air.

Divine *Aeneas* brings the *Dardan* race,

Anchises' son, by *Venus'* stol'n embrace,

Born in the shades of *Ida's* secret grove,

(A mortal mixing with the Queen of Love) 995

Archilochus and *Acamas* divide

The warriour's toils, and combat by his side.

Who fair *Zekeia's* wealthy valleys till,

Fast by the foot of *Ida's* sacred hill;

Or drink, *Æsepus*, of thy fable flood ; 1000

Were led by *Pandarus*, of royal blood.

To whom his art *Apollo* deign'd to show,

Grac'd with the presents of his shafts and bow.

From rich *Apæsus* and *Adrestia*'s tow'rs,

High *Tereë*'s fummits, and *Pityea*'s bow'rs ; 1005

From these the congregated troops obey

Young *Amphius* and *Adrastus*' equal sway ;

Old *Merops*' sons ; whom, skill'd in fates to come,

The Sire forewarn'd, and prophesy'd their doom :

Fate urg'd them on ! the sire forewarn'd in vain,

They rush'd to war, and perish'd on the plain. 1011

From *Præctius*' stream, *Percote*'s pasture lands,

And *Sestos* and *Abydos*' neighb'ring strands,

From great *Arisba*'s walls and *Selle*'s coast,

Asius Hyrtacides conducts his host : 1015

High on his car he shakes the flowing reins,

His fiery coursers thunder o'er the plains.

§. 1012. From *Præctius*' stream, *Percote*'s pasture lands.] *Homer* does not expressly mention *Præctius* as a river, but *Strabo*, lib. 13. tells us it is to be understood so in this passage. The appellative of pasture lands to *Percote* is justified in the xvth *Iliad*, §. 646. where *Melannippus* the son of *Hicetaon* is said to feed his oxen in that place.

The fierce *Pelag*i next, in war renown'd,
 March from *Larissa*'s ever-fertile ground :
 In equal arms their brother leaders shine, 1020
Hippothous bold, and *Pyleus* the divine.

Next *Acamas* and *Pyr*ous lead their hosts,
 In dread array, from *Thracia*'s wintry coasts ;
 Round the bleak realms where *Helle*s*pontus*
 roars,

And *Boreas* beats the hoarse-resounding shores.

With great *Euphemus* the *Ciconians* move, 1026
 Sprung from *Traxenian Ceüs*, lov'd by *Jove*.

Pyraechmes the *Paonian* troops attend,
 Skill'd in the fight their crooked bows to bend ;
 From *Axi*us' ample bed he leads them on, 1030
*Axi*us, that laves the distant *Amydon*,
*Axi*us, that swells with all his neighb'ring rills,
 And wide around the floating region fills.

†. 1032. *Axi*us, that swells with all his neighb'ring rills.] According to the common reading this verse should be translated, *Axi*us that diffuses his beautiful waters over the land. But we are assured by *Strabo* that *Axi*us was a muddy river, and that the ancients understood it thus, *Axi*us that receives into it several beautiful rivers. The criticism lies in the last words of the verse, *Axi*, which *Strabo* reads *Aix*, and interprets of the

The *Paphlagonians* *Pylæmenes* rules,
 Where rich *Henetia* breeds her savage mules, 1035
 Where *Erythrinus*' rising cliffs are seen,
 Thy groves of box, *Cyturus*! ever green;
 And where *Ægyalus* and *Cromna* lie,
 And lofty *Sesamus* invades the sky, 1039
 And where *Partbenius*, roll'd thro' banks of
 flow'rs,

Reflects her bord'ring palaces and bow'rs.

Here march'd in arms the *Halizonian* band,
 Whom *Odius* and *Epistrophus* command,
 From those far regions where the sun refines
 The ripening silver in *Alybean* mines. 1045

There, mighty *Chromis* led the *Myſian* train,
 And Augur *Ennomus*, inspir'd in vain,
 For stern *Achilles* lopt his sacred head,
 Roll'd down *Scamander* with the vulgar dead.

Phorcys and brave *Ascanius* here unite 1050
 Th' *Ascanian* *Phrygians*, eager for the fight.

river *Æa*, whose waters were poured into *Axius*. However, *Homer* describes this river agreeable to the vulgar reading in *Il.* xxi. v. 158. Ἄξις, ὃς κάλλιπον ὕδαρ ἐπὶ γαίῃσιν ἵπον. This version takes in both.

Of those who round *Mæonia's* realms reside,
 Or whom the vales in shades of *Tmolus* hide,
Mestles and *Antiphus* the charge partake;
 Born on the banks of *Gyges'* silent lake. 1055
 There, from the fields where wild *Mæander* flows,
 High *Mycalè*, and *Latmos'* shady brows,
 And proud *Miletus*, came the *Carian* throngs,
 With mingled clamours, and with barb'rous
 tongues.

Amphimachus and *Naustes* guide the train, 1060
Naustes the bold, *Amphimachus* the vain,
 Who trick'd with gold, and glitt'ring on his car,
 Rode like a Woman to the field of war,
 Fool that he was! by fierce *Achilles* slain,
 The river swept him to the briny main: 1065
 Therewithelm'd with waves the gaudy warrior lies;
 The valiant victor seiz'd the golden prize.

The forces last in fair array succeed,
 Which blameless *Glaucus* and *Sarpedon* lead;
 The warlike bands that distant *Lycia* yields, 1070
 Where gulphy *Xanthus* foams along the fields.

OBSERVATIONS on the CATALOGUE.

IF we look upon this piece with an eye to ancient learning, it may be observed, that however fabulous the other parts of *Homer's* poem may be, according to the nature of Epic Poetry; this account of the people, princes, and countries, is purely historical, founded on the real transactions of those times, and by far the most valuable piece of history and geography left us concerning the state of *Greece* in that early period. *Greece* was then divided into several Dynasties, which our Author has enumerated under their respective princes; and his division was looked upon so exact, that we are told of many controversies concerning the boundaries of *Grecian* cities, which have been decided upon the authority of this piece. *Eusebius* has collected together the following instances. The city of *Calydon* was adjudged to the *Ætolians*, notwithstanding the pretensions of *Æolia*, because *Homer* had ranked it among the towns belonging to the former. *Sestos* was given to those of *Abydos*, upon the plea that he had said the *Abydonians* were possessors of *Sestos*, *Abydos* and *Arifbe*. When the *Milesians* and people of *Priene* disputed their claim to *Mycale*, a verse of *Homer* carried it in favour of the *Milesians*. And the *Athenians* were put in possession of *Salamis* by another which

was cited by *Solon*, or (as some think) interpolated by him for that purpose. Nay in so high estimation has this catalogue been held, that (as *Porphyrus* has written) there have been laws in some nations for the youth to learn it by heart, and particularly *Cerdias* (whom *Cuperus de Apophth. Homer.* takes to be *Cercydus*, a Law-giver of the *Megalopolitans*) made it one to his countrymen.

But if we consider the catalogue purely as poetical, it will not want its beauties in that light. *Rapin*, who was none of the most superstitious admirers of our author, reckons it among those parts which had particularly charmed him. We may observe first, what an air of probability is spread over the whole poem by the particularizing of every nation and people concerned in this war. Secondly, what an entertaining scene he presents to us, of so many countries drawn in their liveliest and most natural colours, while we wander along with him amidst a beautiful variety of towns, havens, forests, vineyards, groves, mountains, and rivers; and are perpetually amused with his observations on the different soils, products, situations, or prospects. Thirdly, what a noble review he passes before us of so mighty an army, drawn out in order troop by troop; which, had the number only been told in the gross, had never filled the reader with so great a notion of the importance of the action.

Fourthly, the description of the differing arms and manner of fighting of the soldiers, and the various attitudes he has given to the commanders: of the leaders, the greatest part are either the immediate sons of Gods, or the descendants of Gods; and how great an idea must we have of a war, to the waging of which so many Demigods and heroes are assembled? Fifthly, the several artful compliments he paid by this means to his own country in general, and many of his contemporaries in particular, by a celebration of the genealogies, ancient seats, and dominions of the great men of his time. Sixthly, the agreeable mixture of narrations from passages of history or fables, with which he amuses and relieves us at proper intervals. And lastly, the admirable judgment wherewith he introduces this whole catalogue, just at a time when the posture of affairs in the army rendered such a review of absolute necessity to the *Greeks*; and in a pause of action, while each was refreshing himself to prepare for the ensuing battles.

Macrobius in his *Saturnalia*, lib. v. cap. 15. has given us a judicious piece of criticism, in the comparison betwixt the catalogues of *Homer* and *Virgil*, in which he justly allows the preference to our Author, for the following reasons. *Homer* (says he) has begun his description from the most noted promontory of *Greece* (he means that of *Aulis*, where was the narrowest passage

to *Eubœa*). From thence with a regular progress he describes either the maritime or mediterranean towns, as their situations are contiguous: he never passes with sudden leaps from place to place, omitting those which lie between; but proceeding like a traveller in the way he has begun, constantly returns to the place from whence he digressed, till he finishes the whole circle he designed. *Virgil*, on the contrary, has observed no order in the regions described in his catalogue, *l. x.* but is perpetually breaking from the course of the country in a loose and desultory manner. You have *Clusium* and *Cosæ* at the beginning, next *Populonia* and *Ilva*, then *Pisæ*, which lie at a vast distance in *Etruria*; and immediately after *Cerete*, *Pyrgi*, and *Graviscæ*, places adjacent to *Rome*: from hence he is snatched to *Liguria*, then to *Mantua*. The same negligence is observable in his enumeration of the aids that followed *Turnus* in *l. 7.* *Macrobius* next remarks, that all the persons who are named by *Homer* in his catalogue, are afterwards introduced in his battles, and whenever any others are killed, he mentions only a multitude in general. Whereas *Virgil* (he continues) has spared himself the labour of that exactness; for not only several whom he mentions in the list, are never heard of in the war, but others make a figure in the war, of whom we had no notice in the list. For example, he specifies a thousand

men under *Massicus* who came from *Clusium*, l. x. v. 167. *Turnus* soon afterwards is in the ship which had carried King *Osinius* from the same place, l. x. v. 655. This *Osinius* was never named before, nor is it probable a King should serve under *Massicus*. Nor indeed does either *Massicus* or *Osinius* ever make their appearance in the battles — He proceeds to instance several others, who though celebrated for heroes in the catalogue, have no farther notice taken of them throughout the poem. In the third place he animadverts upon the confusion of the same names in *Virgil*: as where *Corinaeus* in the ninth book is killed by *Asylas*, v. 571. and *Corinaeus* in the twelfth kills *Ebusus*, v. 298. *Numa* is slain by *Nisus*, l. ix. v. 454. and *Aeneas* is afterwards in pursuit of *Numa*, l. x. v. 562. *Aeneas* kills *Camertes* in the tenth book, v. 562. and *Juturna* assumes his shape in the twelfth, v. 224. He observes the same obscurity in his *Patronymics*. There is *Palinurus Iasides*, and *Iapix Iacides*, *Hippocoon Hyrtacides*, and *Asylas Hyrtacides*. On the contrary, the caution of *Homer* is remarkable, who having two of the name of *Ajax*, is constantly careful to distinguish them by *Oileus* or *Telamonius*, the lesser or the greater *Ajax*.

I know nothing to be alledged in defence of *Virgil* in answer to this author, but the common excuse that his *Aeneis* was left unfinished. And upon the whole, these are such trivial slips,

as great Wits may pass over, and little Criticks rejoice at.

But *Macrobius* has another remark, which one may accuse of evident partiality on the side of *Homer*. He blames *Virgil* for having varied the expression in his catalogue, to avoid the repetition of the same words, and prefers the bare and unadorned reiterations of *Homer*; who begins almost every article the same way, and ends perpetually, *Μέλαινοι νῆες ἔποντο*, &c. Perhaps the best reason to be given for this, had been the artless manner of the first times, when such repetitions were not thought ungraceful. This may appear from several of the like nature in the scripture; as in the twenty-sixth chapter of *Numbers*, where the tribes of *Israel* are enumerated in the plains of *Moab*, and each division recounted in the same words. So in the seventh chapter of the *Revelations*: *Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand*, &c. But the words of *Macrobius* are, *Has copias fortasse putat aliquis divinæ illi simplicitati præferendas. Sed nescio quo modo Homerum repetitio illa unice decet, & est genio antiqui Poetæ digna*. This is exactly in the spirit, and almost in the cant, of a true modern critick. The *Simplicitas*, the *Nescio quo modo*, the *Genio antiqui Poetæ digna*, are excellent general phrases for those who have no reasons. *Simplicity* is our word of disguise for a shameful unpoetical neglect of expression: the term of

the *Je ne ſçay quoy* is the very ſupport of all ignorant pretenders to delicacy; and to lift up our eyes, and talk of the *Genius of an ancient*, is at once the cheapeſt way of ſhewing our own taſte, and the ſhorteſt way of criticizing the wit of others our contemporaries.

One may add to the foregoing compariſon of theſe two authors, ſome reaſons for the length of *Homer's*, and the ſhortneſs of *Virgil's* catalogues. As, that *Homer* might have a deſign to ſettle the geography of his country, there being no deſcription of *Greece* before his days; which was not the caſe with *Virgil*. *Homer's* concern was to compliment *Greece* at a time when it was divided into many diſtinct ſtates, each of which might expect a place in his catalogue: but when all *Italy* was ſwallowed up in the ſole dominion of *Rome*, *Virgil* had only *Rome* to celebrate. *Homer* had a numerous army, and was to deſcribe an important war with great and various events, whereas *Virgil's* ſphere was much more confined. The ſhips of the *Greeks* were computed at about one thouſand two hundred, thoſe of *Æneas* and his aids but at two and forty; and as the time of the action of both poems is the ſame, we may ſuppoſe the built of their ſhips, and the number of men they contained, to be much alike. So that if the army of *Homer* amounts to about a hundred thouſand men, that of *Virgil* cannot be above four thouſand. If any one

be farther curious to know upon what this computation is founded, he may see it in the following passage of *Thucydides*, lib. i. “ *Homer’s* fleet (says he) consisted of one thousand two hundred vessels: those of the *Bæotians* carried one hundred and twenty men in each, and those of *Philoctetes* fifty. By these I suppose *Homer* express the largest and the smallest size of ships, and therefore mentions no other sort. But he tells us of those who sailed with *Philoctetes*, that they served both as mariners and soldiers, in saying the rowers were all of them archers. From hence the whole number will be seen, if we estimate the ships at a medium between the greatest and the least.” That is to say, at eighty-five men to each vessel (which is the mean between fifty and a hundred and twenty) the total comes to a hundred and two thousand men. *Plutarch* was therefore in a mistake, when he computed the men at a hundred and twenty thousand, which proceeded from his supposing a hundred and twenty in every ship; the contrary to which appears from the abovementioned ships of *Philoctetes*, as well as those from *Achilles*; which are said to carry but fifty men a-piece, in the sixteenth *Iliad*, *ÿ*. 207.

Besides *Virgil’s* imitation of this catalogue, there has scarce been any Epic writer but has copied after it; which is at least a proof how beautiful this part has been ever esteemed by the

finest geniuses in all ages. The catalogues in the ancient Poets are generally known, only I must take notice that the *Phocian* and *Bæotian* towns in the fourth *Thebaid* of *Statius* are translated from hence. Of the moderns, those who most excel, owe their beauty to the imitation of some single particular only of *Homer*. Thus the chief grace of *Tasso's* catalogue consists in the description of the heroes, without any thing remarkable on the side of the countries: of the pieces of story he has interwoven, that of *Tancred's* amour to *Clorinda* is ill placed, and evidently too long for the rest. *Spencer's* enumeration of the *British* and *Irish* rivers in the eleventh canto of his fourth book, is one of the noblest in the world; if we consider his subject was more confined, and can excuse his not observing the order or course of the country; but his variety of description, and fruitfulness of imagination, are no where more admirable than in that part. *Milton's* list of the fallen angels in his first book, is an exact imitation of *Homer*, as far as regards the digressions of history, and antiquities, and his manner of inserting them: in all else I believe it must be allowed inferior. And indeed what *Macrobius* has said to cast *Virgil* below *Homer*, will fall much more strongly upon all the rest.

I had some cause to fear that this catalogue, which contributed so much to the success of the

Author, should ruin that of the Translator. A mere heap of proper names, though but for a few lines together, could afford little entertainment to an *English* reader, who probably could not be apprized either of the necessity or beauty of this part of the Poem. There were but two things to be done to give it a chance to please him; to render the versification very flowing and musical, and to make the whole appear as much a *landscape* or *piece of painting* as possible. For both of these I had the example of *Homer* in general; and of *Virgil*, who found the necessity in another age to give more into description, seemed to authorise the latter in particular. *Dionysus* of *Halicarnassus*, in his discourse of the *Structure and disposition of words*, professes to admire nothing more than the harmonious exactness with which *Homer* has placed these words, and softened the syllables into each other, so as to derive musick from a croud of names, which have in themselves no beauty or dignity. I would flatter myself that I have practised this not unsuccessfully in our language, which is more susceptible of all the variety and power of numbers, than any of the modern, and second to none but the *Greek* and *Roman*. For the latter point, I have ventured to open the prospect a little, by the addition of a few epithets or short hints of description to some of the places mentioned; though seldom exceeding the compass of half a verse (the space to which my Au-

thor himself generally confines these pictures in miniature). But this has never been done without the best authorities from the ancients, which may be seen under the respective names in the Geographical Table following.

The table itself I thought but necessary to annex to the map, as my warrant for the situations assigned in it to several of the towns. For in whatever maps I have seen to this purpose, many of the places are omitted, or else set down at random. *Sophianus* and *Gerbilius* have laboured to settle the geography of old *Greece*, many of whose mistakes were rectified by *Laurenbergius*. These however deserved a greater commendation than those who succeeded them; and particularly *Sanfon's* map prefixed to *Du Pin's Biliotheque Historique*, is miserably defective both in omissions and false placings; which I am obliged to mention, as it pretends to be designed expressly for this catalogue of *Homer*. I am persuaded the greater part of my readers will have no curiosity this way, however they may allow me the endeavour of gratifying those few who have: the rest are at liberty to pass the two or three following leaves unread.



A GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE of the
TOWNS, &c. in HOMER'S CATA-
LOGUE of GREECE, with the
Authorities for their Situation, as
placed in this Map.

BOEOTIA, under five Captains, Peneleus,
&c. containing,

AULIS, a haven on the Eubæan sea opposite to Chalcis, where the passage to Eubæa is narrowest. *Strabo, lib. ix.*

Eteon, Homer describes it a hilly country, and *Statius* after him — *den-
samque jugis Eteonen iniquis.*
Theb. vii.

Hyrie, a town and lake of the same name, belonging to the territory of *Tanagra* or *Græa*. *Strab. l. ix.*

Schænus, it lay in the road between *Thebes* and *Antbedon*, 50 stadia from *Thebes*. *Strab. Ibid.*

Scholus, a town under mount *Cytberon*. *Ibid.*

Thespia, near *Haliartus*, under mount *Helicon*. *Paus. Bæot.* near the *Corinthian* bay. *Strab. l. ix.*

Græa, the same with *Tanagra*, 30 stadia from *Aulis*, on the Eubæan sea; by this place the river *Asopus* falls into that sea. *Ibid.*

Mycaleffus, between *Thebes* and *Chalcis*. *Paus. Bæot.* near *Tanagra* or *Græa*. *Strab. l. ix.* Famous for its pine-trees. — *Pinigeris Mycaleffus in agris.* *Statius, l. vii.*

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Harma, close by *Mycalessus*. *Strab.* l. ix. This town as well as the former lay near the road from *Thebes* to *Chalcis*. *Paus. Bæot.* It was here that *Amphiaras* was swallowed by the earth in his chariot, from whence it received its name. *Strab. Ibid.*

Ilesion, it was situate in the fens near *Heleon* and *Hyle*, not far from *Tanagra*. These three places took their names from being so seated (*Ἐλος, Palus.*) *Strab.* l. ix.

Erythræ, in the confines of *Attica* near *Platæa*. *Tbucyd.* l. iii. — *dites pecorum comitantur Erythræ.* *Stat. Theb.* vii.

Peteon, in the way from *Thebes* to *Anbedon*. *Strab.* l. ix.

Ocalæa, in the mid-way betwixt *Haliartus* and *Alalcomenes*. *Ibid.*

Medeon, near *Onchestus*. *Ibid.*

Copæ, a town on the lake *Copais*, by the river *Cephissus*, next *Orchomenus*. *Ibid.*

Eutresis, a small town of the *Thebians* near *Thisbe*. *Ibid.*

Thisbe, under mount *Helicon*. *Paus. Bæot.*

Coronea, seated on the *Cephissus*, where it falls into the lake *Copais*. *Strab.* l. ix.

Haliartus, on the same lake, *Strab. Ibid.* Bordering on *Coronea* and *Platæa*. *Paus. Bæot.*

Platæa, between *Cittheron* and *Thebes*, divided from the latter by the river *Asopus*. *Strab.* l. ix. *Viridesque Plateas.* *Stat. Tb.* vii.

Gliffa, in the territory of *Thebes*, abounding with vines. *Baccho Glifanta colentes.* *Stat.*

Thebæ, situate between the rivers *Ismenus* and *Asopus*. *Strab.* l. ix.

Onchestus, on the lake *Copais*. The grove consecrated to *Neptune* in this place, and celebrated by *Homer*, together with a temple and statue of that God, were shewn in the time of *Pausanias*. *Vide Bæot.*

Arne, seated on the same lake, famous for vines. *Strab. Hom.*

Midea, on the same lake. *Ibid.*

Nissa, or *Nysa* (*apud Statium*) or according to *Strabo*, l. ix. *Isa*; near *Antbedon*.

Antbedon, a city on the sea-side, opposite to *Eubœa*, the utmost on the shore towards *Locris*. *Strab.* l. ix. *Teque ultima tractu Antbedon.* *Statius*, l. vii.

Aspledon, 20 stadia from *Orchomenus*. *Strab.* l. ix.

Orchomenus, and the plains about it, being the most spacious of all in *Bœotia*. (*Plutarch* in vit. *Syllæ*, circa medium.)

Homer distinguishes these two last from the rest of *Bœotia*. They were commanded by *Ascalaphus* and *Ialmen*.

PHOCIS, under *Schedius* and *Epistrophus*, containing,

Cyparissus, the same with *Anticyrra* according to *Pausanias*, on the bay of *Corinth*.

Pytho, adjoining to *Parnassus*: some think it the same with *Delphi*, *Pausan.* *Phocic*.

Crissa, a sea-town on the bay of *Corinth* near *Cyrrha*. *Strab.* l. ix.

Daulis, upon the *Cepheissus* at the foot of *Parnassus*. *Ibid.*

Panopea, upon the same

river, adjoining to *Orchomenia*, just by *Hyampolis* or *Anemoria*. *Ibid.*

Hyampolis, *Anemoria*, { both the same according to *Strabo.* *Ibid.* Confining upon *Locris.* *Paus.* *Phoc.*

Lilea, at the head of the river *Cepheissus*, just on the edge of *Phocis*. *Ib.* — *propellentemque Lileam Cepheissi glaciale caput.* *Stat.* l. vii.

LOCRIS, under *Ajax Oileus*, containing,

Cynus, a maritime town towards *Eubœa*. *Strab.* l. ix.

Opus, a *Locrian* city, 15 stadia from the sea, adjacent to *Panopœa* in *Phocis*. *Ib.*

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<i>Calliarus.</i>	<i>Thronius</i> , on the <i>Melian</i> bay. <i>Strab. l. ix.</i>
<i>Bessa</i> , so called from being covered with shrubs. <i>Strab. l. ix.</i>	<i>Boagrius</i> , a river that passes by <i>Thronius</i> , and runs into the bay of <i>Oeta</i> , between <i>Cynus</i> and <i>Scarphe</i> . <i>Ibid.</i>
<i>Scarphe</i> , seated between <i>Thronium</i> and <i>Thermopylae</i> , ten stadia from the sea, <i>Ibid.</i>	All these opposite to the isle of <i>Eubaea</i> .
<i>Augia</i> , <i>Tarphe</i> ,	

E U B O E A, under Elphenor, containing,

<i>Chalcis</i> , the city nearest to the continent of <i>Greece</i> , just opposite to <i>Aulis</i> in <i>Boeotia</i> . <i>Strab. l. x.</i>	river <i>Budorus</i> . <i>Strab. l. x.</i>
<i>Eretria</i> , between <i>Chalcis</i> and <i>Gerestus</i> . <i>Ibid.</i>	<i>Dios</i> , seated high. <i>Hom.</i> Near <i>Histiæa</i> . <i>Strab. Ib.</i>
<i>Histiæa</i> , a town with vineyards, over-against <i>Thessaly</i> . <i>Herod. l. vii.</i>	<i>Carystos</i> , a city at the foot of the mountain <i>Ocha</i> . <i>Strab. Ibid.</i> Between <i>Eretria</i> and <i>Gerestus</i> . <i>Ptolem. l. iii.</i>
<i>Cerintus</i> , on the sea-shore. <i>Hom.</i> Near the	<i>Styra</i> , a town near <i>Carystos</i> . <i>Strab. Ibid.</i>

A T H E N S, under Menestheus.

The Isle of *SALAMIS*, under *Ajax Telamon*.

PELOPONNESUS, the East Part divided into *Argia* and *Mycenæ*, under *Agamemnon*, contains,

<i>Argos</i> , 40 stadia from the sea. <i>Paus. Corin.</i>	<i>Tyrinthe</i> , between <i>Argos</i> and <i>Epidaurus</i> . <i>Ibid.</i>
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Asinen,
Hermion, { Three cities ly-
Træzene, { ing in this order
on the bay of
Hermione. *Strab.*
l. viii. *Paus.*
Corinth. *Træzene*
was seated high,
and *Asine* a rocky
coast. — *Altaque*
Træzene. *Ov.*
Fast. ii. — *Quos*
Asinæ cautes. *Lu-*
can. l. viii.

Eione was on the sea-
side, for *Strabo* tells us the
people of *Mycenæ* made it
a station for their ships,
l. viii.

Epidaurus, a town and
little island adjoining, in
the inner part of the Sa-
ronic bay. *Strab. l. viii.*
It was fruitful in vines in
Homer's time.

The isle of *Ægina*, over-
against *Epidaurus*.

Mafeta belongs to the
Argolic shore according to
Strabo, who observes that
Homer names it not in the
exact order, placing it
with *Ægina.* *Strab. l. viii.*

Mycenæ, between *Cleone*
and *Argos.* *Str. Pausan.*

Corinth, near the *Isth-*
mus.

Cleone, between *Argos*

and *Corinth.* *Paus. Co-*
rinth.

Ornia, on the borders of
Sicyonia. *Ibid.*

Arethyría, the same with
Pblyasia, at the source of
the *Achaian Asopus.* *Strab.*
l. viii.

Sicyon (anciently the
kingdom of *Adrastus*) be-
twixt *Corinth* and *Achaia.*
Paus. Corinth.

Hyperesia, the same with
Ægira, says *Pausan.* *Achaic.*
Seated betwixt *Pellene* and
Helice. *Strab. l. viii.* Op-
posite to *Parnassus.* *Polyb.*
l. iv.

Gonoëssa, *Homer* describes
it situate very high; and
Seneca Troas. *Cares nun-*
quam Gonoëssa vento.

Pellene, bordering on
Sicyon and *Pheneus*, 60 sta-
dia from the sea. *Paus.*
Arcad. Celebrated an-
ciently for its wool. *Strab.*
l. viii. *Jul. Pol.*

{ Next *Sicyon* lies
{ *Pellene*, &c. then
{ *Helice*, and next
{ to *Helice*, *Ægium.*
Ægium, { *Strab. l. viii.* *He-*
Elice, { *lice* lies on the
{ sea-side, 40 sta-
{ dia from *Ægium.*
{ *Paus. Ach.*

*The West Part of PELOPONNESUS,
divided into Laconia, Messenia, Arcadia,
and Elis.*

LACONIA, under Menelaus, containing,

Sparta, the capital city,
on the river *Eurotas*.

Phares, on the bay of
Messenia. *Strab.* l. viii.

Messa, *Strabo* thinks this
a contraction of *Messena*,
and *Statius* in his imitation
of this catalogue, *lib.* iv.
calls it so.

Brysia, under mount *Tay-*
getus. *Paus.* *Lacon*.

Augiæ, the same with
Ægiæ in the opinion of

Pausanias (*Laconicis*.) 30
stadia from *Gythium*.

Amyclæ, 20 stadia from
Sparta towards the sea.

Ptol. l. iv. under the moun-
tain *Taygetus*. *Strab.* l. viii.

Helos, on the sea-side.

Hom. Upon the river *Eur-*
otus. *Strab.* *Ibid.*

Laas.

Oetylos, near the pro-
montory of *Tænarus*. *Paus.*
Lac.

MESSENIA, under Nestor, containing,

Pylos, the city of *Nes-*
tor on the sea-shore.

Arene, seated near the ri-
ver *Minycius*. *Hom.* Il. xi.
Strab. l. viii.

Tbryon, on the river *Al-*
pheus, the same which *Ho-*
mer elsewhere calls *Tbryoëf-*
sa. *Strab.* *Ibid.*

Æpy, the ancient Geo-
graphers differ about the

situation of this town, but
agree to place it near the
sea. *Vide Strab.* l. viii. —
Summis ingestum montibus
Æpy. *Stat.* l. iv.

Cyparissie, on the borders
of *Messenia*, and upon the
bay called from it *Cypa-*
rissæus. *Paus.* *Messen*.

Amphigenia, — *Fertilis*
Amphigenia. *Stat.* *Tb.* iv.

near the former. So also,
Pteleon, which was built
by a colony from *Pteleon* in
Theffaly. *Strab.* l. viii.

Helos, near the river *Al-
pheus*. *Ibid.*

Dorion, a field or moun-
tain near the sea. *Ibid.*

ARCADIA, under *Agapenor*, containing,

The mountain *Cyllene*,
the highest of *Peloponnesus*,
on the borders of *Acbaia*
and *Arcadia*, near *Pbeneus*.
Paus. *Arcad.* Under this
stood the tomb of *Æpytus*.
That monument (the same
author tells us) was re-
maining in his time, it was
only a heap of earth in-
closed with a wall of rough
stone.

Pbeneus, confining on
Pellene, and *Stymphelus*.
Ibid.

Orchomenus, confining
on *Pbeneus* and *Mantineæ*.
Ibid.

Ripe,
Stratie,
Enispe,

[These three, *Strabo*
tells us, are not
to be found, nor
their situation as-
signed. *Lib.* viii.
prope fin. *E-
nispe* stood high,
as appears from
Hom. and *Statius*,
l. iv. *Ventosaque
donat Enispe.*

Tegea, between *Argos*
and *Sparta*. *Polyb.* l. iv.

Mantineæ, bordering up-
on *Tegea*, *Argia*, and *Or-
chomenus*. *Paus.* *Arcad.*

Stymphelus, confining on
Pblyasia or *Arethyria*. *Strab.*
l. viii.

Parrhasia, adjoining to
Laconia. *Thucyd.* l. v. —
Parrhasiaque nives. *Ovid.*
Fast. ii.

ELIS, under four Leaders, *Amphimachus*,
&c. containing,

The city *Elis*, 120 stadia
from the sea. *Paus.* *Eliacis* ii.

Buprasium near *Elis*. *Strab.*
l. viii.

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The places bounded by the fields of *Hyrmine*, in the territory of *Elis*, between mount *Cyllene* and the sea.

Myrsinus, on the sea-side, 70 stadia from *Elis*. *Strab.* l. viii.

The *Olenian Rocks*, which stood near the city *Olenos*, at the mouth of the river *Pierus*. *Paus. Achaic.*

And *Alysium*, the name of a town or river, in the way from *Elis* to *Pisa*. *Strab.* l. viii.

The ISLES, overagainst the Continent of Elis, Achaia, or Acarnania.

Echinades and *Dulichium*, under *Meges*.

The *Cephalenians* under *Ulysses*, being those from *Samos* (the same with *Cephalenia*) from *Zacynthus*, *Grocylia*, *Ægilipa*, *Neritus*, and *Ithaca*. This last is generally supposed to be the largest of these islands on the east side of *Cephalenia*, and next to it; but that is, according to *Wheeler*, 20 Italian miles in circumference, whereas *Strabo* gives *Ithaca* but 80 sta-

dia about. It was rather one of the lesser islands towards the mouth of the *Achelous*.

Homer adds to these places under the dominion of *Ulysses*, *Epirus* and the opposite Continent, by which (as *M. Dacier* observes) cannot be meant *Epirus* properly so called, which was never subject to *Ulysses*, but only the sea-coast of *Acarnania*, opposite to the islands.

The Continent of ACARNANIA and ÆTOLIA, under Thoas.

Pleuron, seated between *Chalcis* and *Calydon*, by the sea-shore, upon the river

Evenus, West of *Chalcis*. *Strab.* l. x.

<p><i>Olenos</i>, lying above <i>Calydon</i>, with the <i>Evenus</i> on the East of it. <i>Ibid.</i></p> <p><i>Pylene</i>, the same with <i>Proscbion</i>, not far from <i>Pleuron</i>, but more in the land. <i>Strab. l. x.</i></p> <p><i>Chalcis</i>, a sea-town. <i>Hom.</i></p>	<p>Situate on the East side of the <i>Evenus</i>. <i>Strab. Ibid.</i></p> <p>There was another <i>Chalcis</i> at the head of the <i>Evenus</i>, called by <i>Strabo</i> <i>Hypo-Chalcis</i>.</p> <p><i>Calydon</i>, on the <i>Evenus</i> also. <i>Ibid.</i></p>
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The Isle of CRETE, under Idomeneus, containing,

<p><i>Gnosſus</i>, seated in the plain between <i>Lyctus</i> and <i>Gortyna</i>, 120 stadia from <i>Lyctus</i>. <i>Strab. l. x.</i></p> <p><i>Gortyna</i>, 90 stadia from the <i>African</i> sea. <i>Ibid.</i></p> <p><i>Lyctus</i>, 80 stadia from the same sea. <i>Ibid.</i></p> <p><i>Miletus</i>.</p> <p><i>Phæstus</i>, 60 stadia from</p>	<p><i>Gortyna</i>, 20 from the sea, under <i>Gortyna</i>. <i>Strab. Ib.</i></p> <p>It lay on the river <i>Jardan</i>, as appears by <i>Homer's</i> description of it in the third book of the <i>Odyssey</i>.</p> <p><i>Lycastus</i>.</p> <p><i>Rhytium</i>, under <i>Gortyna</i>. <i>Strab.</i></p>
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The Isle of RHODES, under Tlepolemus, containing,

<p><i>Lindus</i>, on the right-hand to those who sail from the city of <i>Rhodes</i>, Southward. <i>Strab. l. xiv.</i></p>	<p><i>Jalyſſus</i>, between <i>Camirus</i> and <i>Rhodes</i>. <i>Ibid.</i></p> <p><i>Camirus</i>.</p>
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The Islands, Syma (under Nireus) Nisyros, Carpathus, Casus, Cos, Calydnæ, under Antiphus and Phidippus.

The Continent of T H E S S A L Y, toward the Ægean sea, under Achilles.

Argos Pelasgicum (the same which was since called *Phthiotis*). *Strabo*, l. ix. says that some thought this the name of a town, others that *Homer* meant by it this part of *Thessaly* in general (which last seems most probable). *Steph. Byzant.* observes, there was a city *Argos* in *Thessaly*, as well as in *Peloponnesus*; the former was called *Pelasgic* in contradistinction to the *Achaian*: for though the *Pelasgi* possessed several parts of *Epirus*, *Crete*, *Peloponnesus*, &c. yet they retained their principal seat in *Thessaly*. *Steph. Byz. in v. Panel.*

Trechine, under the mountain *Oeta*. *Eustath.* in Il. ii.

Phthia,
Hellas,

{ Some supposed these two to be names of the same place, as *Strabo* says; though 'tis plain *Homer* distinguishes them. Whether they were cities or regions, *Strabo* is not determined. *lib. ix.*

The *Hellenes*. This denomination, afterwards common to all the *Greeks*, is here to be understood only of those who inhabited *Phthiotis*. It was not till long after *Homer's* time that the people of other cities of *Greece* desiring assistance from these, began to have the same name from their com-

{ Both on the shore of *Thessaly* towards
Alos, { *Locris*. *Strabo*, l.
Alope, { ix. *Alos* lies in the
passage of mount
{ *Othrys*. *ib.*

munication with them, as beginning of his first
Thucydides remarks in the book.

The following under Protefilaus.

Phylace, on the coast of *Phthiotis*, toward the *Mælian* bay. *Strab.* l. ix.

Pyrrhasus, beyond the mountain *Othrys*, had the grove of *Ceres* within two stadia of it. *Ibid.*

Itona, 60 stadia from *Alos*, it lay higher in the land than *Pyrrhasus*, above mount *Othrys*. *Ibid.*

Antron, on the sea-side. *Hom.* In the Passage to *Eubœa*. *Ibid.*

Pteleon, the situation of this town in *Strabo* seems to be between *Antron* and

Pyrrhasus: but *Pliny* describes it with great exactness to lie on the shore towards *Bœotia*, on the confines of *Phthiotis*, upon the river *Sperchius*; according to which particulars, it must have been seated as I have placed it. *Livy* also seats it on the *Sperchius*.

All those towns which were under *Protefilaus* (says *Strabo*, lib. ix.) being the five last mentioned, lay on the eastern side of the mountain *Othrys*.

These under Eumelus.

Pheræ, in the farthest part of *Magnesia*, confining on mount *Pelion*. *Strab.* l. ix. Near the lake of *Bæbe*. *Ptol.* And plentifully watered with

the fountains of *Hyperia*. *Strab.*

Glaphyræ.

Iolcos, a sea-town on the *Pegasean* bay. *Livy*, l. iv. and *Strab.*

Under Philoctetes.

Methone, a city of *Macedonia*, 40 stadia from *Pydna* in *Pieria*. *Strab.*

Tbaumacia,
Melibeia, { In *Phtiotis*
near *Pbarsalus*, according
to the same
author. *Ib.*

Olyzon. It seems that this place lay near *Bæbe*, *Iolcos*, and *Ormenium*, from *Strab.* l. ix. where he says, *Demetrius* caused the inhabitants of these towns to remove to *Demetrias*, on the same coast.

The Upper THESSALY.

The following under *Podalirius* and *Machaoni*.

Trice, or *Tricce*, not far from the mountain *Pindus*, on the left-hand of the *Peneus*, as it runs from *Pindus*. *Strab. lib. ix.*

Ibome, near *Trica*. *Ibid.*
Oecbalia, the situation not certain, somewhere near the forementioned towns. *Strab. Ibid.*

Under Eurypylus.

Ormenium, under *Pelion*, on the *Pegasæan* bay, near *Bæbe*. *Ibid.*

Asterium, hard by *Pheræ* and *Titanus*. *Ibid.*

Under Polyphætes.

Argissa, lying upon the river *Peneus*. *Strab. lib. ix.*

Gyrtona, a city of *Perreæbia*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Ibid.*

Ortbe, near *Peneus* and *Tempus*. *Ibid.*

Elope,
Oloësson, { Both lying under *Olympus*, near the river *Titaresius*. *Ibid.*

Under Guneus and Protheus.

Cyphus, seated in the mountainous country, towards *Olympus*. *Ibid.*

Dodona, among the mountains, towards *Olympus*. *Ibid.*

Titaresius, a river rising in the mountain *Titarus*, near *Olympus*, and running

into *Peneus*. *Ibid.* 'Tis also called *Eurotas*.

The river *Peneus* rises from mount *Pindus*, and flows through *Tempe* into the sea. *Strab.* l. vii. and ix.

Pelion, near *Ossa*, in *Magnesia*. *Herod.* l. vii,



A T A B L E of T R O Y, and the Auxiliar C O U N T R I E S.

T H E kingdom of *Priam*, divided into eight dynasties.

1. *Troas*, under *Hector*, whose capital was *Ilium*.

2. *Dardania*, under *Aeneas*, the capital *Dardanus*.

3. *Zeleeia*, at the foot of *Ida*, by the *Aesepus*, under *Pandarus*.

4. *Adrestia*, *Apæsus*, *Pityea*, mount *Teree*, under *Adrastus* and *Amphius*.

5. *Sestos*, *Abydos*, *Arisbe* on the river *Selle*, *Percote*,

and *Præstius*, under *Astius*.

These places lay between *Troy* and the *Propontis*.

The other three dynasties were under *Mynes*, *Eetion*, and *Alteus*; the capital of the first was *Lyrnessus*, of the second *Thebe* of *Cilicia*, of the third *Pedasus* in *Lelegia*. *Homer* does not mention these in the catalogue, having been before destroyed and depopulated by the *Greeks*.

The Auxiliar Nations.

The *Pelasgi*, under *Hippothous* and *Pyleus*, whose capital was *Larissa*, near the place where *Cuma* was afterwards built. *Strab.* l. xiii.

The *Thracians*, by the side of the *Hellepont* oppo-

site to *Troy*, under *Acamas* and *Pyrrhus*, and those of *Ciconia*, under *Euphemus*.

The *Paonians* from *Macedonia* and the river *Axius*, under *Pyrrhus*.

The *Paphlagonians*, under *Pylæmeneus*. The *Ha-*

A TABLE of TROY, &c. 175

lizonians, under *Odius* and *Epistrophus*. The *Myfians*, under *Cromis* and *Ennomus*. The *Pbrygians* of *Ascania*, under *Pborcys* and *Ascanius*.

The *Meonians*, under *Mestles* and *Antipbus*, who inhabited under the mountain *Tmolus*.

The *Carians*, under *Nauftes* and *Amphimacus*, from *Miletus*, the farthermost city of *Caria* towards the south. *Herodot.* l. i.

Mycale, a mountain and promontory opposite to *Samos*. *Ibid.*

Pbtbiron, the same mountain as *Latmos*, according to *Hecatæus*.

The *Lycians*, under *Sarpedon* and *Glaucus*, from the banks of the river *Xanthus*, which runs into the sea betwixt *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*. *Homer* mentions it to distinguish this *Lycia* from that which lies on the *Propontis*.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

A TABLE OF TROY, &c.



THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME